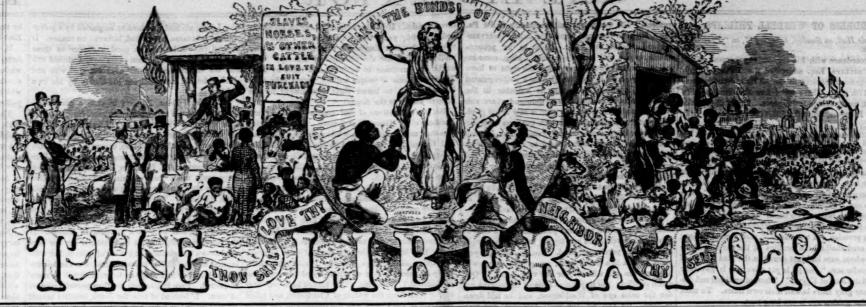
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s, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters reus to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be seed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-

a. Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are arised to receive subscriptions for The LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial too, but are not responsible for any debts of the or, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

with death, and an agreement with hell." What order of men under the most absolute of

The United States Constitution is "a covena

monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republies, was ever invested with such an edious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential manaion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disceminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of mon in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more peralcious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the under-standing of mankind. . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprodence that can define it— no model in the records of anciont history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacri-fice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession." JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 8.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1575.

Selections.

LETTER FROM LORD BROUGHAM.

BROUGHAM, November 20. GE_I feel honored by the invitation to attend Boston Convention, and to give my opinion upon nestion, "How can American Slavery be hed?" I consider the application is made to ceiving me to represent the anti-slavery is country; and I believe that I speak nents as well as my own in expressing dest difference of opinion with you upon the of those who promoted the Harper's Ferry tion, and for the fate of those who suffered eir conduct in it. No one will doubt my st desire to see slavery extinguished; but that can only be gratified by lawful means—a and for the rights of property, or what the ares to be property, and a constant repug-the shedding of blood. No man can be ed a martyr unless he not only suffers, but iness to truth; and he does not bear this testiwho seeks a lawful object by illegal means, other course taken for the abolition of slavery her course taken for the aboution of stavery ly delay the consummation we so devoutly esides exposing the community to the hazard insurrection, perhaps less hurtful to the masnithe slave. When the British emancipation inally carried, it was accomplished by steps, and s clapsed between the commencement in 1833 and its completion in 1838.

declaration of the law which pronounced a free, as soon as he touched British ground, cously ascribed to the English courts under Mansfield, but really made by the judges in d.) may seem to be inconsistent with the le now laid down. But I am bound to exdoubts if such a decision would have been ad Jamaica touched upon the coasts of this It is certain that the judges did not inry. It is certain that the Judges did not not be cleare that all property in slaves should ally cease, and yet such would have been the able effect of their judgment in the case supply, which somewhat resembles that of America. The elevation of your new President, all friends America, of its continued union, of the final tion of slavery by peaceful means, and of atter, immediate extinction of the execrable trade—all friends of the human race must tily rejoice. They will, let us hope, find in a powerful ally, as his country may expect to ble, a consistent, and an honest rule I have the honor to be your faithful servant

BROUGHAM. JAMES REDPATH, Esq., Boston, U. S.

REPLY.

Bosrox, January 28th, 1861. O HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM: My LORD,-I have received your reply to our ques

"How can American Slavery be Abolished? I take exceptions to its erroneous ethical teachings, appeal from Brougham, the English Lord, to Henry Brougham, the tribune of the English people, I appeal from the nobleman whose letter is now

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the laster in his slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge set the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. In vain the tell me of laws that sanction such a claim. There is his above all the enactments of human codes—the same shown the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of 1878, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth and knowledge; to another, all unutterable wees. Such it sat this day. It is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and

say, is possible and plausible. Still, it must be borne in mind, that these same "moderates," who are to be found in every country, are always alarmed at other a woman; both bearing placards with these every movement which threatens to interfere in the least degree with their own ease or interest, no matter what the crime may be against which it is directed. According to the "moderate men," the conscience and the divine indignation which Deity has

No one-not even Lord Brougham, nor, indeed, the miscreants who put Brown to death—questions the honesty of the stern old Puritan. The very worst that his murderers have urged against him is that he was a remorseless fanatic, who would not hesitate to involve the whole Union in a civil war for the accomplishment of his object—namely, the manufaction of the American purpose. emancipation of the American negroes.

But, though the sincerity of Captain Brown is admitted, Lord Brougham denies his right to the name of "martyr," because, says his lordship, (and let the reader mark the reason,) "No man can be considered a martyr unless he not only suffers, but witness to the truth; and he does not bear this

estimony who seeks a lawful object by illegal means."

This statement is positively startling from its allrom its alternent is positively starting from its allpervading stupidity. Anything more transparently
self-contradictory and absurd never issued from the
mouth of a fool. There is in it a sophism so clumsy
and ineffectual as to force the painful conviction
upon one's mind, that the once vigorous intellect of
Brougham is in its dotage—that he has drained his
strell groups to the draw and that for the sake of

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY and Susan B. Anthony squelch'd!

implanted in the human soul, for the purpose of impelling men to action against iniquity, are never to be invoked or employed against anything higher than petty larceny, or, at the very utmost, against imbecile individual felony. Thus, if the "moderate men" would have their way, every form of scoundrelism in which a powerful class may have vested interests would be protected by a lease which would only expire with the final winding up of all earthly things. rabble "making night hideous" with their shouts, hootings and screechings, mingled with disgusting profanity and ribaldry. After parading some of the principal streets, the procession repaired to Hanover square, the centre of the business part of our city, and there performed the most revolting, blasphemous and beastial orgies, preparatory to burning the effigies. Spectators of the scene at this time inform us that a noted character named Hart pronounced a eulogy upon the "defunct Abolitionists," indulging in many blasphemous and impious expressions, and concluding with a mock prayer!—that among the infamous performances indulged in was the representation of improper familiarities between the effigies, even going so far as to represent the act of effigies, even going so far as to represent the act of sexual intercourse! The effigies were then burned up, amid the rejoicings and applause of the motley assemblage, and cheers for the "Constitution and the Union!" The mob, after another parade, dissolved at a late hour.

Such were the outrages upon public decency committed by the self-appointed custodians of the good name and reputation of the city of Syracuse.—

The Syracuse Courier & Union, (Democrat,) like its namesake in Rochester on a similar occasion intelligence to the dregs—and that, for the sake of his reputation, the best thing which could happen to Rochester Express.

him would be to get him to restrain his pen and his tongue for the remainder of his life.

Grant that his lordship's definition, or immitation, of what constitutes a martyr is correct, and not only is poor Brown precluded from being one, but almost the whole bead-roll of martyrdom will be reduced to a complete blank. Neither Christ himself, nor any of his apostles, is entitled to the name of martyr, if Lord Brougham's dogmatic enunciation be right; for, though the Roman Pilate declared that he could find no fault in the Saviour, that was because of Pilate's ignorance of the Jewish law. The chief priests and the Pharisees and lawyers speedily that they had a law they h chief priests and the Pharisees and lawyers speedily showed the reluctant judge that they had a law which authorized the infliction of death upon the anything but "mudsills" of society; men with I appeal from the nobleman whose letter is now paded, with eager approval, by every pro-slavery formal of our cities, to the popular orator whose letter is now paded, with eager approval, by every pro-slavery formal of our cities, to the popular orator whose fine confounded the most cunning sophistries of deallies of the oppressor. I appeal from the Lord who so recently has said:—"No one can doubt my famest desire to see slavery extinguished, but that lesize can only be gratified by lawful means—a strict lesize can only be gratified by lawful means—a strict lesize can only be gratified by lawful means—a strict lesize can only be gratified by lawful means—a strict lesize can only be gratified by lawful means—of the law calls of the hoble young Englishman, of lowly lith, who thrilled two continents with these eloquent words:—

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the later lihis slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge that that undoned the infliction of death upon the prisoner at the bar.

Lord Brougham seems to admit that it is "lawful" to seek the abolition of slavery, but he contends that this object must, to ensure the approbation of good and intelligent persons, be sought by "legal means."

Now, Lord Brougham knows that in the slave States it is not "lawful" to seek the abolition of slavery, and that no means which can be employed against slavery and that no means which can be employed against slavery and the noble young Englishman, of lowly lith, who thrilled two continents with these eloquent words:—

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the slave States, it is declared to be a felony, and punishable with death, to speak or write a word which tends to imperil the safety of the accursed institution. So that the lawful" is solved, "or the elevation and improvement of the masses of markind, or who, if they engage in the promotion of some of them, do so with a silvery and that no means attrict was all very well to educate up to a certain degree, but in whom it were arrogance and pre The contract of the first contract of any or of the contract o

extended to him. It is time that the power of the aristocratic clique should be taken from them in the last place where they have retained their authority.

who will protect every citizen, however unpopular his opinions may be to a bigoted and arrogant aristocracy.—New Bedford Republican Standard.

this opinions may be to a bigoted and arrogant aristocracy.—New Bedford Republican Standard.

FOOLS NOT ALL DEAD YET.

The so-called Union men in Boston have got an idea into their heads that one way to heal the present difficulties is by mobbing abolitionists. They have incited a vile and disreputable mob to break up by violence the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which body has a corporate form, and has been in existence twenty-nine years. Mayor Wightman was in league, and acted a most disgraceful part. All these men are short-sighted as moles and owls. Every abolitionist in the country is chuckling over the awful mistake they have made. When will people learn that trying to close anybody's mouth by force is a very silly way to save the Union, or anything else worth sav-

If you anticipate any result of this nature, the responsibility will rest upon you, as you cannot be justified in wilfully putting the peace of the city in peril."

In a conversation with the agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, he said that he knew nothing of the character of the meeting, or of the threats to "summarily abate" such assemblies as a "nuisance;" but if the originators of the meeting, and the Trustees of the Tremont Temple, thought that anything would be said during the sessions of the convention disrespectful to the government, (1) or likely to peril the peace of the city, they would be responsible for any disturbance or violence which might follow; that since, in the present excited state of the public mind, it was evident an anti-slavery meeting could not be held in Boston without serious, and perhaps violent opposition, they ought not bold one—and if it was held, and such opposition was provoked, he should arrest those who called and conducted the meeting as the aggressors upon the public peace; that he cared nothing about the legality of the meeting, but that certain things beyond the reach of the law must be controlled by other means, which it might be his duty to employ!

And when applied to for protection against expected disturbance at one of the meetings in Music Hall, he replied—"If you have reason to expect a disturbance, you are not authorized to hold the meeting."

Such is the outrageous conduct of the highest official in Boston. It is a direct invitation to mob violence and outrage. It is a renunciation of his most

Such is the outrageous conduct of the highest official in Boston. It is a direct invitation to mob violence and outrage. It is a renunciation of his most sacred duty. It is a mean, contemptible, dastardly attempt to crush out the men who attempt to exercise the right of free discussion in the capital of the Commonwealth. It is a carrying out of the principles of the aristocratic clique, that nothing must be said in Boston they do not approve, and to set themselves up as the censors of public speech.

This conduct is a disgrace not only to the city of Boston, but to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The liberty of speech is guaranteed by our Bill of Rights to every citizen upon every subject. There is no set of men whatever that have the right to define or restrict its limits. If any local authority fails in the state of the citizen at its fine that the power of the carrying should be sufficient of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Boston Post thinks that the subject of Mayor Wightman! Suppose, instead of going up into Tremont street, and perinning with Wendell Philips, he (Mr. Phillips) should begin with Mayor Wightman! Suppose, instead of going up into Tremont street, and putting an end to an Anti-Stavery meeting in Tremont Temple, or any other building, shall be closed against freedom of speech, or any subject of public interest, and the reign of intolerance begins; and when shall the end be? Suppose, instead of Mayor Wightman! Suppose, instead of going up into Tremont street, and putting an end to an Anti-Stavery meeting in Tremont Temple, or any other building, shall be closed against freedom of speech, or any subject of public interest, and the reign of intolerance begins; and when shall the end be? Suppose, instead of Mayor Wightman! Suppose, instead of going up into Tremont Stavet, and putting an end to an Anti-Stavery meeting in Tremont Temple, or any other building, shall be closed against freedom of speech, or any other building, shall be closed against freedom of speech, or any subject of Mayor

The Boston Post thinks that the remedy for mob-law in Boston is for the "Abolitionists to hold their

law in Boston is for the "Abolitionists to hold their meetings where they would be welcomed—as New Bedford for instance, or Worcester."

It is wine Boston is for the "Abolitionists to hold their meetings where they would be welcomed—as New Bedford for instance, or Worcester."

If Boston were private property, if its franchises belonged to the little coterie of snobs and aristocrats who don't want anything said, except just what pleases themselves, and suits their kid-glove notions of decorum and propriety, this suggestion might appear reasonable. But it is not so. The soil of Boston were private property, if its franchises belonged to the little coterie of snobs and aristocrats who don't want anything said, except just what pleases themselves, and suits their kid-glove notions of decorum and propriety, this suggestion might appear reasonable. But it is not so. The soil of Boston were private property, if its franchises belonged to the little coterie of snobs and aristocrats who don't want anything said, except just what pleases themselves, and suits their kid-glove notions of decorum and propriety, this suggestion might appear reasonable. But it is not so. The soil of Boston were private property, if its franchises belonged to the little coterie of snobs and aristocrats who don't want anything said, except just what pleases themselves, and suits their kid-glove notions of decorum and propriety, this suggestion might appear reasonable. But it is not so. The soil of Boston were private property, if its franchises belonged to the little coterie of snobs and aristocrats who don't want anything said, except just what pleases themselves, and suits their kid-glove notions of decorum and propriety, this suggestion might appear reasonable. But it is not so. zens are citizens of Massachusetts, and entitled to aris-the free exercise of the rights secured by her Con-

perfect panic, by his attempt at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859.

They also vowed that the Abolitonists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they are to bold any more meetings here. If they are to bold of whites without helping to break the bonds of the defenders of the owners of the blacks—and that, by exciting the alarms of moderate," men, he created a feeling against the abolitionists, and thereby strengthened the hands of the defenders of the abominable thing. All this, I way is possible and plausible. Still, it must be borne in mind, that these same "moderates," who are to feel must be possible and plausible. Still, it must be borne in mind, that these same "moderates," who are to feel must be possible and plausible. Still, it must be borne in mind, that these same "moderates," who are to feel must be found in every country, are always alarmed at the agent of the Anti
They also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not undertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not midertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not midertake to bold any more meetings here. If they also vowed that the Abolitionists must not must one of the will use his authority to suppress apprehended to the New will be satisfied, unless as they were hurrying to escape, fall benumbed and so their Northern allies in suppressing free speech, as they were hurrying to seape, fall benumbed and so to the oblitionists or two are hung of thee visit part of the indicators of the invited m correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

THE BOSTON MOB.

The movements of this respectable body, in their efforts to suppress free speech, has awakened a degree of feeling in the community which we trust will not be allayed until we have some guaranty that their services will not be called into requisition very soon. The high-handed abuse of power by Mayor Wightman, in ordering the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to leave Tremont Temple, instead of protecting them in their leval rights, show-Anti-Slavery Society to leave Tremont Temple, in-stead of protecting them in their legal rights, shows that we have as much to fear from despotism at home, as from secession in the Southern States. The respectability of those who acted in concert with the Mayor is fully endorsed by the fact, that they the Mayor is fully endorsed by the fact, that they had their head-quarters at the Tremont House. Their connection with the secessionists is attested by the fact that Lucius Slade, who acted so prominent a part, wrote to the secessionists of Atlanta that no John Brown meeting could be held in Boston. Their union-loving is shown by their sending Edward Everett, Robert C. Winthrop, and their coadjutors, to Washington, within about two months after an election in which they came within about 120,000 of having a majority, to represent the senafter an election in which they came which about 120,000 of having a majority, to represent the sentiments of Massachusetts! We should be very sorry to see the Republicans compelled, in self-defence, to adopt so bad a policy as that shadowed forth in the "Metropolitan Police Bill" proposed, but think that much good may be done by the Legislature in civing these gentlemen a thorough airing.

but think that much good may be done by the Legislature in giving these gentlemen a thorough airing, through their investigating committee.

We have no doubt that Winthrop would like to regain his former position in the political worldwhich he held until he attempted to crush Charles Sumner—and that Edward Everett would be glad to do something that would wipe out the stain which has borne him down, ever since he apologized to his Southern masters for expressing indignation at the hrutal assault on our Senator—but hardly think that two months are sufficient for the people of

in the recent election.

They seem to think that, because they have plenty of money, and can control the Irish voters in our large cities, they can rule the land. We have no fears that the anti-slavery principles of the people can be wiped out by mob law; but we know that it is the duty of every good citizen to frown upon such attempts to abridge the freedom of speech and the press as have been made; and we believe it to be the duty of our Governor and Legislature to see to it that this spirit is thoroughly quelled, before a single soldier is sent out of the State.—Northampton Free Press.

RUM AND ROWDYISM.

The regular annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which met pursuant to a regular call, in the Tremont Temple, on Thursday last, was broken up in a disgraceful manner by a mob. Such scenes are a disgrace to the city. Mayor Wightman pursued about the same course as his predecessor, and said he was unable to protect the building. The mob was composed mainly of his supporters, and he connived at their misdoings.—They knew what they were about, (these runnines and rowdies.) and that there was no danger of their being interfered with in their mean work. We are

15.

Douglas, alls, R. I., 2.0 IPTIONS. Eng.) by E. Wig. 60 0 0 Elizabeth

Fletcher y Joseph bb, Esq.,

Whitlegge, 29 f any mere clerical ally of omissions, a

W. CHAPMAN.

ERATOR. eer journal in the t year in a new and f holy war against f tyranny that ever and State leagued and State leagued aing editor, crying flering a prize for jesty of right, they m as the myrmidon t the touch of Ithu-lown from his high k of Slavery's hated s—its toothless rage to the song of Moses rough the Red Sea, ord, hath dashed in eatness of thine ex-

ord, hath dashed in eatness of thine exthem that rose up
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stone, till thy people
pass over whom with long years of ase,—years in which the watch-tower of drawing near his gaze rests apon ne sees it lit up with s day; and, in the say, with Simeon of by servant depart in n thy salvation!

Mr. Garrison has avery cause; and is and hope, as a young of that Wilberforce cory, and then found is destroyed, has Mr.; and good service public addresses, for ents, have not been and. bors, and the strogavery friends have ator of the 4th inst. at will make a large read with profound ation. May a kind this friend of uni-bilee trumpet shall a the land; may, the

n of Mr. Garrison, ype, &c. Although rison's ability, real, of signal service to with him in many kee pleasure in bearnag energy and arhas maintained his of unparalleled call.) Republican.

nti-Slavery Record for Fs tf

CAL SCHOOL nesday, February

and as the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the can as the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, so the mobbing of Phillips and his set of radicals will only eventuate in increasing the sentiment which they represent. Mob Wendell Phillips twice a week for a month, and at the end of the month he would be at the head of the most powerful party ever known in Massachusetts.—Biddeford Union.

MIRE AND DIRT.

A Cambridge correspondent of a Haverhill pa-per, in the following speaks the sentiments of the more sensible people in the State,—especially those outside the moral and law-abiding modern Athens:

" As the doings of the disgraceful mob in Boston, on Thursday, is the theme of conversation just now, allow me to say that I was present in the afternoon at Tremont Temple, and an eye-witness pretty generally of the ruffianism which finally triumphed through the craven sycophancy of the police, and the pliant flunkeyism of Mayor Wightman. A more rfect pandemonium could not have been let loose South Carolina than on this occasion. The hub of the universe' was in labor surely, and brought forth mire and dirt with a vengeance. It was more violent, rowdyish, and rascally in some of its elements, than the wretched raid upon the John Brown meeting, its forerunner. There was more of the filthy and boyish element in this last demonstration the Beacon street 'gentlemen of property and stand-ing,' the stock-jobbers and importers, and their dandy clerks, and the 'all up' tigers of North street, evidently were in admirable fusion on this occasion. The papers scarcely exaggerate the 'noise and con but with the exception of the Transcript neither of the Boston papers has much to say in the way of rebuke against the ignoble and dastardly trage upon law and order, and free speech. No vile as that of the 'city of notions.

I trust now the Legislature will ignore utterly y repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, and that any repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, and that the Metropolitan Police Bill may be passed at once. Let every man in the Legislature who votes against the latter be marked, labelled and branded as a traitor to all time. Let Boston, and its legislative and other puppies, yell and he wl. Pass the bill, we say, and then let us see if that flunkey city, its flun-Mayor, and a flunkey press, can succeed in de-ng the State, insulting its own magnificent Govens, of South Carolina, as was done at the Tremont Temple on Thursday."

FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN BOSTON.

The telegraph brings news of the breaking up of a meeting of John Brown sympathizers, who had gathered in Boston to celebrate the anniversary of his death. We are told that those who were foremost in breaking up the meeting were of the "high-est respectability," men of wealth and standing And many Northern journals countenance their acts, and stigmatize the meeting as one of "danger-ous fanatics." But what of that? What if the movers in the meeting were Abolitionists and Gar-risonites? Haven't they a right to freedom of speech? And who is to be the arbiter? who is to decide whether or not a man is too fanatical to be allowed to hold to his own views, and promulgate them too, if he can influence others to become his if he can influence others to become his These things are done in the South, and we all cry out against it as a wrong and a tyr-anny; in how much do the motive and the prin-ciple differ when put into practice in the North? Suppose a meeting was called in Cleveland, of all sympathies were with the secessionists of the there a decent Republican journal that would advise or countenance any body of men, how-ever "respectable," in breaking up that meeting by force? And if freedom of speech is to be allowed to one, why not to all? Whether the meeting is un-wise or not, affects not the principal of free speech. We care not whether the intruding party upon the meeting at Boston was composed of millionaires or beggars, it was a mob, and, as such, deserving the ration of the whole North.-Cleveland Leader.

Before our Massachusetts friends talk much about mob rule in the South, they will do well set their own house in order." If we understand the facts in this case, there is a suspension of stand the facts in this case, there is a suspension of freedom of speech in Boston. No one will accuse us of any particular sympathy with the principles of the men who were endeavoring to hold the meeting. But it is easy to see that if a mob, however well in the standard of the control of t may break up a meeting of any kind. The convention undertook to hold its meeting in a public hall, in an orderly manner. It should have been let alone by those who did not approve of the objects of the meeting. It should have been protected of the meeting. It should have been protected ageinst the mob by the municipal authorities.—

137 Boston was again most thoroughly disgraced last week by a "respectable mob," which broke up the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. They have, however, dirtied for nothing, as they will see eventually. -Bellows Falls Times.

Boston has again permitted a mob to break up an anti-slavery meeting. Such an outrage upon the freedom of speech is only worthy of South Car-

The Charleston (S. C.) Courier, having a telegraphic account of the mob which broke up the Tremont Temple meetings in Boston, heads it "The Power of Slavery." The title is the most appropriate and truthful that could have been chosen. The mob was the legitimate result of the demoralization which inevitably follows the advocacy of slavery.

BEECHER ON THE TIMES.

Henry Ward Beecher's lecture in Boston, Tuesday evening, was both racy and timely. Following hard after the mob demonstration, that portion which touched upon free speech was greeted with the heartiest applause. On this head the lecturer

"The method of suppressing free speech, it appears, is to be by mobbing i The object of a magistracy in Boston is to say to persons who propose to dis-cuss the questions of the day, 'If any lewd fellows of the baser sort disapprove of what you say, I shall hold you responsible for all their iniquities.' The propagator of such a doctrine should have been propagator of such a doctrine should have been made prime minister to Ahab. When you have succeeded in this thing, and New England has got all the staves together, and she is a barrel without bung, head or tap, I will come and look at her. Then we will loose the old State Bill of Rights, the party of the company and the control of then we will take up the old Commonwealth's Con-stitution, then we will gather up all the remnants of our former glory, take them to Bunker Hill, build a bonfire, and he of Virginia, the great Mason, shall touch it off. In 1856, they all cor plained that we politics in the pulpit. By the way, did see anything killed deader than that? The real trouble was, we did n't begin soon enough. Some men think the pulpit should be like a ship of war, with guns only at the ctive glass in which men are to see

On the current topic of the compromises, the lecturer was not at all ambiguous. We copy from the Boston Journal's report:—

The speaker then proceeded to denounce all comnises, as, according to his theory, they are use.

The true way is to let the seceders alone, and h Carolina will soon be like a woodchuck in a South Carolina will soon be like a woodchuck in a hole stopped at both ends. No compromise can effect a permanent settlement. He also opposed the repeal of the personal liberty laws; if they are constitutional, they ought to stand; if they are not, let the courts dispose of them. In conclusion, he said: "My friends, I would not be supposed to be bitter, and, therefore, I am slightly merry on the subject. But I love liberty; I was born in New England; I am Puritan-born; I never knew anything adverse. am Paritan-born; I never knew anything advers to these things. For the sake of every creature tha lives, I plead it; for their sakes in the slave States just as much as for those of the old Commonwealth o ust as much as for those of the our Commonwealth of dassachusetts, I plead for liberty; for those that are a oppression, I plead that you shall have courage to ecept your own opportunities and its consequences, God shall offer them, that your purity, honor and ith may be tested, for the sake of God, yourselves

ADDRESS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. At Music Hall, on Sunday, February 17, on " Progress.

In accordance with his regular engagement, WEN-DELL PHILLIPS, Esq. addressed the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society in Music Hall, Sunday forenoon, 17th inst. There were four thousand persons present, many unable to find seats. Mr. Phillips spoke upon 'Progress,' from the following text :-

"And Jacob said unto Pharach, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and ovil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage."

Thus spoke a prince, who had won from his elder brother both birthright and blessing-who had seen "the angels of God ascending and descending"-was able to say, "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands "-who had seen God face to face, and still lived-to whom was pledged the Divine promise, "I will make of thee a great nation; in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed "-whose ears had just drunk in the glad tidings of his favorite son, "Joseph is yet alive; he is governor over all the land of Egypt." Thus, often timid and dis consolate gray hairs bewail their own times. To most nen, the golden age is one long past.

But Nature is ever-growing. Science tells us every

change is improvement. This globe, once a mass of molten granite, now blooms almost a paradise. So in man's life and history. One may not see it in his own short day. You must stand afar off to judge St. Peter's. The shadow on the dial seems motionless, but it touches noon at last. Place the ages side by side, and see how they differ. Three quarters of the early kings of France died poor and in prison, by the dagger or poison of their rivals. The Bonapartes stole large fortunes and half the thrones of Europe, yet all died natural deaths in their beds, and hough discrowned, kept their enormous wealth.

When the English marched from Boston to Concord, they fired into half the Whig dwellings they passed. When Lane crossed Kansas, pursuing Missouri ruffians, he sent men ahead to put a guard at every border ruffian's door, to save inmate and goods from harm. When Goldsmith reminded England that "a heart buried in a dungeon is as precious as that seated on a throne," there were one hundred and sixty-nine crimes punished with death. Now, not only England, but every land governed by the English race, is marked by the mildness of its penal code-only one, two or three classes of offenders being now murdered by law.

It is not yet fifteen years since the first Woman's Rights Convention was held. The first call for one in Massachusetts, a dozen years ago, bore a name heard often in manful protest against popular sins-that of Waldo Emerson. But in that short fifteen years, a dozen States have changed their laws. One statute a year old, in New York, securing to married women control of their wages, will do more to save New York from being grogshop and brothel than a thousand pulpits could do. When Kansas went to Topeka to frame a burg joining hands with the house of Rothschi vor of giving woman the right to vote. Truly, the day breaks. If time served, I could find a score of awaken intellect. To gratify them disciplines intellect. The keener the want, the lustier the growth. The power to use new truths in science, new ideas in morals or art, obliterates rank, and makes the lowest man useful or necessary to the State. Luther and mark the ages, not popes or kings. A Massachusetts mechanic, Eli Whitney, made cotton king; a Massachusetts printer, William Lloyd Garrison, has undermined its throne. Thus, civilization insures equality. Types are the fathers of democrats. It is not always, however, ideas or moral princples

that push the world forward. Selfish interests play a large part in the work. Our revolution of 1776 succeeded because trade and wealth joined hands with principle and enthusiasm, a union rare in the history f revolutions. Northern merchants fretted at England's refusal to allow them direct trade with Holland and the West Indies. Virginia planters, heavily mortgaged welcomed any thing that would postpone payment of their debts—a motive that doubtless avails rgely among secessionists now. So merchant and planter joined heartily with hot-headed Sam Adams, and reckless Joseph Warren, penniless John Adams, that brilliant adventurer, Alexander Hamilton, and that young scapegrace, Aaron Burr, to get independence. (Laughter.) To merchant, independence meant only direct trade-to planter, cheating his creditors.

Present conflict of interests is another instrument of progress. Religious persecution planted these States. percial persecution brought about the Revolu-1783, drove us to the Constitution of 1789.

history of the slave question.

Some men sit sad and trembling for the future, because the knell of this Union has sounded. But the neavens are almost all bright—and if some sable clouds linger on the horizon, they have turned their silver linings almost wholly to our sight. Every man who possesses his soul in patience sees that disunion is

gain, disunion is peace, disunion is virtue. Thomas Jefferson said, "It is unfortunate that the efforts of mankind to recover the freedom of which they have been deprived should be accompanied with violence, with errors, and even with crime. But while we weep over the means, we must pray for the end."

We may see our future in the glass of our past history. The whole connection of Massachusetts colony with England was as much disgrace as honor to both sides. On the part of England, it was an attempt to stretch principles which were common sense and justice applied to an island, but absurd and tyrannical applied across the ocean. It was power Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power, nor debased by submission; but by the exercise of power they think illegal, and submission to a rule they congain, peace and virtue. Indeed, seeming disunion mutual love and respect; where one then filched sil- of toil. Never let Europe taunt er's lap; our only rivalry, which shall do most honor willing their idolized government sho to the blood of Shakspeare and Milton, of Franklin and Kane.

since 1787, and I doubt not for all coming time. The touches a nobler height Lakes, yes, between the Gulf and the Pole, are es- willingly see their Union wrecked, is largely the a Constitution. The people and great interests of the land, wealth, thought, fashion and creed, immediately laid it upon the shelf, and proceeded to grow one for themselves. The treaty power sufficed to annex a continent, and change the whole nature of the gov.

ernment. The war power builds railroads to the Pa. three months. If Wilberforce could say on his deathwhy I have advised the slave to be guided by a policy by the river, she sends and brings four to and from the cific. Right to regulate commerce builds observato-ries and dredges out lakes. Right to tax protects manufactures; and had we wanted a king, some in-genious Yankee would have found the right to have ne clearly stated in the provision for a well-regulated nilitia. (Laughter.) All that is valuable in the United States Constitution is a thousand years old. What is good is not new, and what is new is not good. That vaunted statesmanship which concects constitu-tions never has amounted to anything. The English Constitution, always found equal to any crisis, is an old mansion, often repaired, with quaint add seven gables, each of different pattern. Our Constitution is a new clapboard bouse, so square and sharp t almost cuts you to look at-staring with white paint and green blinds as if dropped in the landscape, or come out to spend an afternoon. (Laughter.) The trouble now is, that, in regard to the most turbu-

ent question of the age, our politicians and a knot of privileged slaveholders are trying to keep the people nside of this parchment band. Goethe said, " If you plant an oak in a flower vase, one of two things will happen-the oak will die, or the vase break." One acorn swelled; the tipy leaves showed themselves under the calm eye of Washington, and he laid down in hope. By and by, the roots enlarged, and men trembled. Of late, Webster and Clay-Everett and Botts-Seward and Adams-have been anxiously clasping the vase, but the roots have burst abroad last, and the porcelain is in pieces. (Sensation.) All ye who love oaks, thank God for so much! That Union of 1787 was one of fear-we were driven into it by poverty and the commercial hostility of England. As cold masses up all things, sticks, earth, stones and water into dirty ice; heat first makes separation, and then unites those of the same nature. The heat of sixty years' agitation has severed the heterogeneous ass-wait awhile, it will fuse together all that is re

Let me show you why I think the present so bright, and why I believe that Disunion is gain, peace and

Why is the present hour sunshine? Because, for the first time in our history, we have a North. That event which Mr. Webster anticipated and prophesied has come to pass. In a real true sense, we have a North. By which I do not mean that the North rules, though, politically speaking, the crowned and sceptred North does, indeed, take her seat in that con where she has thus far been only a tool. But I mean that free men, honest labor, makes itself heard in our on the lion. She asserts and claims. She no onger begs, cheats or buys.

Understand me. In 1787, slave property, worth perhaps, three hundred million of dollars, strengthened by the sympathy of all other capital, was a mighty power. It was the Rothschild of the State. Constitution, by its three-fifths slave basis, made slave holders an order of nobles. It was the house of Haps Constitution, one-third of the Convention were in fabitter and potent as Catholic ever bore Huguenot, or Hungary ever spit on Moslem. This fearful trinity familiar instances. It is enough to state the general won to its side that mysterious omnipotence called principle, that civilization produces wants. Wants Fashion-a power which, without concerted action, without either thought, law or religion on its side, seems stronger than all of them, and spares no foe but wealth. Such was slavery. In its presence the North always kneeled and whispered. When slavery could not bully, it bubbled its victim. In the convention Raphael, Fulton and Faust, Howard and Rousseau, that framed the Constitution, Massachusetts men said, as Charles Francis Adams says now, "What matters a pitiful three-fifths slave basis, and guaranty against asurrection, to an institution on its death-bed-gasping for its last breath? It may conciliate-is only shadow-nothing more-why stand on words?" they shut their eyes, as he does, on realities, and opped excellent logic on forms-

But at that moment, the devil hovered over Charleson, with a handful of cotton seed. (Applause.) Dropped into sea-island soil, and touched by the magic of Massachusetts brains, it poisoned the atmosphere of thirty States. That cotton fibre was a rod of empire such as Cæsar never wielded. It fattened into college, and leashed New York and Chicago to its chair of State. Beware, Mr. Adams! "He needs a long spoon who sups with the devil." In the kaleidoscope the future, no statesman eye can foresee the forms. God gives narrow manhood but one clue to successutter and exact justice; that He guaranties shall be always expediency. Deviate one hair's breadth grant but a dozen slaves-only the tiniest seed of conmischief shall grow therefrom.

I need not go over the subsequent compromises in detail. They are always of the same kind : effort to govern us by stealth, even after the peace of any harm. But the South was always specially anx-I think it was Coleridge who said, if he were a glad when she got them. Northern politicians, in clergyman in Cornwall, he should preach fifty-two ser-each case, were either bullied or cheated, or feigned mons a year against wreckers. In the same spirit, I to be bullied, as they are about to do now. And the shall find the best illustration of our progress in the people were glad to have it so. I do not know that the politicians are a whit better now than then. I should not be willing to assert that Seward and Adams are any more honest than Webster and Winthropand certainly they have just as much spaniel in their

make. But the gain to-day is, we have a people. Under their vigilant eyes, mindful of their sturdy purpose, sustained by their determination, many of our politicians act much better. And out of this popular heart is growing a Constitution which will wholly supersede

t of 1787. A few years ago, while Pierce was President the Republican party dared to refuse the appropriations for support of government-the most daring act ever ventured in a land that holds Bunker Hill and Brandywine. They dared to persevere some twenty or thirty days. It seems a trifle; but it is a very significant straw. Then for weeks when Banks was elected; and a year ago, again, the whole government without right, masked in form. On the side of the the chair. Now the North elects her President, the was checked till the Republicans put their Speaker in Colony, it was petty shifts, quibbles, equivocations, South secedes. I suppose we shall be bargained away into compromise. I know the strength and virtue of ness. While England was bull-dog, Massachusetts the farming West. It is one of the bright spots that was fox. Whoever cannot take his right openly by our sceptre tends there, rather than to the scaboard. force, steals what he can by fraud. The Greek slave Four or eight years hence, when this earthquake will was a liar, as all slaves are. De Tocqueville says, repeat itself, the West may be omnipotent, and we shall see brave things.

But now, spite of Lincoln's wishes, I fear he they think illegal, and submission to a rule they con-sider oppressive." That sentence is a key to our the Republican wire-pullers and the seaboard. But whole colonial history. When we grew strong enough even now, if Seward and the rest had stood firm, as to dare to be frank, we broke with England. Timid Lincoln, Sumner, Chase, Wade, and Lovejoy, and the men wept; but now we see how that disunion was Tribuse have hitherto done, I believe you might have polled the North, and had a response, three to one, was real union. We were then two snarling hounds, "Let the Union go to pieces, rather than yield one leashed together; we are now one in a true marriage, inch." I know no sublimer hour in history. The one in blood, trade, thought, religion, history, in sight of these two months is compensation for a life ver from the other, each now pours gold into the othuld go to pieces for an idea. True, other nations have done so. England in 1640-France in 1791-our colonie In that glass we see the story of North and South in 1775. Those were proud moments. But to-day Their idea was their own people of the States between the Gulf and the great freedom. To-day, the idea, loyal to which our people sentially one. We are one in blood, trade, thought, of justice to a dependent, helpless, hated race. Revoreligion, history; nothing can long divide us. If we lutions never go backward. The live force of a hu-had let our Constitution grow, as the English did—as man pulse-beat can rive the dead lumber of government oaks do, we had never passed through such scenes as to pieces. Chain the Hellespont, Mr. Xerxes-Seward, thing that divides us now, is before you dream of balking the Northern heart of its the artificial attempt, in 1787, to force us into an un-purpose—freedom to the slave! The old sea never ripe union. Some lawyers got together, and wrote out laughed at Persian chains more haughtily than we do

bed, after fifty years toil, "Thank God, I have lived to see the day that England is willing to give twenty million sterling for the abolition of slavery," what leaders permit, to barter their government for the right hand. hope of justice to the negro!

was shot, at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press, and Faneuil Hall was closed to his friends, William Ellery Channing, William Sturgis, and George Bond, the saints and meschants of Boston, rallied to the defence of free speech. Now, we hold meetings only anny sours more than suffering. The conservative when and how the Mayor permits, (hisses and great hates the abolitionist more than we do him. The South applause,) yet no merchant prince, no pulpit hero hates the North. The master speaks ten bitter words rallies to our side. But raise your eyes from the dis- of the slave where the slave speaks five of the master. that pierced your heart.

When Lovejoy died, men used to ask, tauntingly, changes has it wrought? As well stand over the arouse? cradle, and ask what use is a baby! He will be a man

the people have shown themselves able to deal with madness before she return a repentant prodigal. it: able to shake this sin from their lap as easily as the lion does dew-drops from his mane. Mark another thing. No Northern man will allow you to charge him with a willingness to extend slavery. No matter what his plan, he is anxious to show real sentiment, "liberty and equality," and draw the you it is not a compromise! and will not extend sla- line at the Potomac. We do not want the border very one inch! Mr. Dana is eloquent on this point, States. Let them go, be welcome to the forts, take Mr. Adams positive, Mr. Seward cunning, Thurlow the capital with them. (Applause and hisses.)

promise will only be temporary relief. The South Delaware. Then, by running our line at the Potomac, knows it is a lie-meant to tide over a shallow spot. The we close the irrepressible conflict, and have homo-North knows it too. The startled North, in fact, now geneous institutions. Then we part friends. The says: "Yes, I'll continue to serve you till my hair be Union thus ended, the South no longer hates the grown, then I'll bring down the very temple itself." North. Cuba she cannot have. France, England That is what a compromise really means. The pro-gress is seen in this. The South always has said: America, that will bring no cause of war to a Norththe bargain, but hold you to yours, and get more the ness to us there cannot harm us. Let Kansas witness her courage consisted in skulking. Seward would ner clung to the flag-staff heavy with blood, we still swear to support the Constitution, but not to keep the made good George Canning's boast, "Where that oath. I use his name to illustrate my idea. But it is banner is planted, foreign dominion shall not come." always with the extremest reluctance I bring myself With a government heartily on his side, and that flag to see a spot on the fame of that man, who, at his own floating in the blessings of twenty million of freemen, cost, by severe toil, braving fierce odium, saved our civilization from the murder of the idiot Freeman.

But you may also ask, if compromise be even a tempory relief, why not make it ?

1st. Because it is wrong.

2d. Because it delays emancipation. To-day, England, horror-struck that her five million operatives who born men.

out of the covenant with death! Mr. Dana, in his Vaughan. cession-you know not how many tall branches of bullet. But let an arrogant and besotted minority Mexico. To us in future the South will be another curb the majority by tricks like these, and when you Mexico-too weak, too intent on her own broils to athave compromised away Lincoln, you revive John tack us. Brown. On this point of insurrection, let me tion—John Bull's perseverance in a seven years' war words, Northern men assured us—barren concessions. Word. Men talk of the peace of the South under our the fifteen States hang together a year—which is alfused us into one nation—his narrow and ill-tempered "Physical geography and Asiatic scenery" hindered present government. It is no real peace. With the most an impossibility—1st, they have given bonds in Roman loved-ut se apricaret-that he might sun himself. It is only safe idleness, sure breeder of mischief. With the slave, it is only war in disguise. Under that mask is hid a war keener in its pains, and deadlier in Missouri, will be their Massachusetts—Winter Davis, its effects, than any open fight. As the Latin adage Blair and Cassius Clay, their Seward and Garrison. runs-mars gravior sub pace latet-war bitterer for its

> have a peaceful solution. If your idols—your Web Pennsylvania. sters, Clays, Calhouns, Sewards, Adamses-had done scenes of tremendous horror which I could smile at wars. by Mercy's side. An insurrection which should make Why should it attack us? We are not a cannot the negroes masters of the West Indies is one." I thundering at its gates. We are not an avalanche hearts; the bereaved mothers; the infant, wrung from sight and influence of our nobler civilization. the hands of its parents; the husband and wife torn asunder; every right trodden under foot; the blighted face of State street, that of any five Northern men enmelted in sensuality, herded with beasts-who have North will lose nothing. walked over the burning marl of Southern slavery to their graves, and where is the battle-field, however compared with the blackness of that darkness which has brooded over the Carolinas for two hundred years? Do you love mercy? Weigh out the fifty thousand ly exaggerated, as well as the importance of the Misthe fifty thousand mothers, who, with sickening senses, watch for footsteps that are not wont to tarry long in their coming, and soon find themselves left to dress, referred to by Mr. Phillips :tread the pathway of life alone—add all the horrors of cities sacked and lands laid waste—and then weigh them all against some young girl sent to the auction-block, some man like that taken from our Court House and carried back into Georgia; multiply this individual agony into four millions; multiply that into centuries; and that into all the relations of father and child, husband and wife; heap on all the deep moral degradation both of the oppressor and the oppressed, and tell my own race. I know it is a contest for freedom, but it is a contest for freedom of both sides, because allowery is to end what was begins. One race is to go up, and slavery is to end what was begins. tread the pathway of life alone—add all the horrors from the eye even of the tenderest spirit of mercy, compared with this daily system of hell amid the most civilized and Christian people on the face of the No, I confess I am not a non-resistant. The reason

ought our gratitude to be for such a sight as this? him the basest recreant that ever deserted wife and Twenty millions of people willing, would only their child, if he did not vindicate his liberty by his own

Mr. Richard Dana, Jr., says in such a contest hi But you will tell me of dark clouds—mobs in every sympathies would be with his own race. (1) I confess Northern city. Grant it, and more. When Lovejoy mine would be with the right. I feel bound to add

graced pavements of Boston, and look out broader.

But I was speaking of compromise. Compromise That same soil which drank the blood of Lovejoy, degrades us, and puts back freedom in Europe. If now sends his brother to lead Congress in its flercest the North manfully accepts the Potomac for her barhour; that same prairie lifts his soul's son to crush rier, avows her gladness to get rid of tyrants, her willthe Union as he steps into the Presidential chair. ingness and her ability to stand alone, she can borrow Sleep in peace, martyr of Alton-good has come out as much money in Europe as before, and will be more of Nazareth! The shot which turned back our Star respected. Free institutions are then proved breeders of the West from the waters of Charleston, and tolled of men. If instead of this the North belittles herself the knell of the Union, was the rebound of the bullet by confessing her fears, her weakness, her preference for peace at any price, what capitalist will trust a rope of sand-a people which the conspiracy of Buchanan's what good has the anti-slavery cause done - what Cabinet could not disgust, nor the guns of Carolina

Will compromise eliminate all our Puritan bloodsometime-the anti-slavery cause has got to be twenty- make the census add up against us and in favor of the South-write a new Testament-blot John Brown This hour is bright from another cause. Since from history-make Connecticut suck its idle thumbs 1800, our government has been only a tool of the like a baby, and South Carolina invent and save like Slave Power. The stronghold of anti-slavery has a Yankee? If it will, it will succeed. If it will not, been the sentiment of the people. We have always Carolina don't want it any more than Jerrold's duck prophesied that our government would be found too wants you to hold an umbrella over him in a hard weak to bear so radical an agitation as this of slavery. shower. Carolina wants separation—wants, like the It has proved so—the government is a wreck. But jealous son, her portion, and must waste it in riotous

Why do I think disunion gain, peace and virtue? Let us rise to the height of our position. This is revolution, not rebellion.

Suppose we welcome disunion, manfully avow our Weed indignant. (Laughter.) Virtue is not wholly to us is a hot-house city, empty streets, and useless discrowned, while hypocrisy is the homage laid at her marble? Where Macgregor sits is the head of the State. The North ceases to be fox or spaniel, and feet. With such progress, why should we comprotable. Active brains, free lips and cunning hands make empires. Paper capitals are vain. Of course Everybody allows, North and South, that any com- we must assume a right to buy out Maryland and Yes, give me so much; I will not keep my part of ern confederacy. We are no fillibusters. Her nearnoment I can." Hitherto the North has said yes, and that while Union fettered her, and our national ban-Mountains will sleep fearless.

Why, then, should there not be peace between two such confederacies? There must be. Let me show

1st. The laws of trade will bind us together as they now do all other lands. This side of the ocean, at live on cotton should depend on States rushing into least, we are not living in feudal times, when princes anarchy, is ransacking the world for a supply. Leave made war for ambition. We live in days when men her to toil under that lash, and in five years South of common sense go about their daily business, while Carolina will be starved into virtue. One thousand frightened kings are flying along the highways. Leave slaves are born each day. Hurry emancipation three neighborhood and trade alone, and we shall be at peace. years, and you raise a million human beings into free- Observe, only Northerners are lynched at the South now. Spaniards, French, Scotch are safe. When 3d. Compromise demoralizes both parties. Mark! English Captain Vaughan is tarred and feathered, the the North, notwithstanding all its progress, does not Mayor offers a reward, and the grand juny indict. and the State, it is the sinners who kick the virtuous scribed, a Boston man will be as well off as Captain

recent speech, does not secede because unwilling to At any rate, disunion could not make the two seccommit the three constitutional sins. The South se- tions any more at war than they are now. Any change cedes from him because he will not commit one more. in this respect would be an improvement. If the North 4th. Compromise risks insurrection - the worst and Mexico had touched boundaries, would they ever door at which freedom can enter. Let universal suf- have quarrelled? Nothing but Southern fillibusterism. frage have free sway, and the ballot supersedes the which can never point North, ever embroiled us with

whites, it is only that bastard peace which the lazy two thousand million of dollars—the value of their slaves-to keep the peace.

2d. They will have enough to do to attend to the

3d. The Gulf States will monopolize all the offices. A man must have Gulf principles to belong to a heal-Thirty years devoted to earnest use of moral means thy party. Under such a lead, disfranchised Virginia, show how sincere our wish that this question should in opposition, will not have much heart to attack

4th. The census shows that the border States a their duty, so it would have been. Not ours the guilt pushing their slaves south. Fear of their free Northof this storm, or of the future, however bloody. But ern neighbors will quicken the process, and so widen I hesitate not to say that I prefer an insurrection the breach between gulf and border States by making which frees the slave in ten years to slavery for a century. A slave I pity. A rebellious slave I respect.

I say now, as I said ten years ago—I do not shrink in men bankrupts Virginia. Free trade generally lets from the toast with which Dr. Johnson flavored his two-thirds of the direct taxation rest on the numerous, Oxford port, "Success to the first insurrection of the richer and more comfortable whites of the border blacks in Jamaica!" I do not shrink from the senti- States; hence further secession. Such a despotism, ment of Southey, in a letter to Duppa-"There are with every third man black and a foe, will make no

believe both these sentiments are dictated by the highest humanity. I know what anarchy is. I know what freedom, is only the air, penetrating everywhere, like est numanity.

it can imagine the scenes of blood through heat, permeating all space. The South cannot stand which a rebellious slave population must march to isolated on a glass cricket. The sun will heat her, and their rights. They are dreadful. And yet, I do not electricity convulse. She must outwit them before know, that, to an enlightened mind, a scene of civil she can get rid of ideas. A fevered child in July war is any more sickening than the thought of a hun-might as well strike at the sun, as the South attack us dred and fifty years of slavery. Take the broken for that, the only annoyance we can give her,—the Disunion is gain. I venture the assertion, in the

hopes, the imbruted souls, the darkened and degraded gaged in Southern trade exclusively, four will end in millions—sunk below the level of intellectual life, bankruptcy. If disunion sifts such commerce, the I venture the assertion, that seven at least of the

their graves, and where is the battle-field, however ghastly, that is not white-white as an angel's wing, than they contribute to it. So far, their place will be more profitable than their company.

The whole matter of Southern trade has been gro

hearts that have beaten their last pulse amid agonies sissippi river. Freedom carves her own lines of iron. of thought and suffering fancy faints to think of; and Facts show that for one dollar the West sends or brings

(1) The following is the paragraph in Mr. Dana's ad-

sources for the and not recedent of both sides, beas slavery is to ead when wer begins. One race is to go up, one to go down. It is a question of extermination, banishment, or subjugation, or all three. And I have arrived at that degree of philanthropy that I desire to the black race controlling all that vast country, and own white civilized race driven out, subjugated, or terminated."

East by wagon and rail.

East by wagon and ran.

If, then, Mississippi and Louisiana bar the river with If, then, alternative with forts, they will graciously be allowed to pay for them, forts, they was granted a grow rich carrying behind steam the small portion of wheat, bacon, silt or to which would otherwise float lazily up and down the yellow stream.

ellow stream.

The Cincinnati Press, which has treated this subject with rare ability, asserts that, excepting prewhich the South must, in any event, buy of the West the trade of Cincinnati with Southern Indiana alone is thrice her trade with the whole South. At our he nevolent societies get about one dollar in seven south of Mason and Dixon's line, so our traders sell then only about one dollar in five. Such trade, if cet of would ruin nobody. In fact, the South buys little of us, and pays only for about half she buys. (Laughier and hisses.)

Now we build Southern roads, pay Southern purel, carry Southern letters, support, out of the ration, treasures, an army of Southern office-holden, waste more money at Norfolk in building ships that will no float, than is spent in protecting the five great hite which bear up millions of commerce. These vast pasions come back to us in shape of Southern traden, paying, on the average, one half their debts. Dissilis the Union, and we shall save this outgo, and protative not sell without a prospect of being paid Southern trade is a lottery, to which the Union give

all the prizes. Put it on a sound basis by dist and the North gains. If we part without anger, the South buys, as every one does, of the chrapest seller, We get her honest business, without being called to fill up the gap of bankruptcy which the wasteful sytem of slave labor must occasion. In this generation no slave State in the Union has made the year's ends meet. In counting the wealth of the Union, such States are a minus quantity. Should the Gulf States however, return, I have no doubt the United States treasury will be called on to pay all these see

Disunion is honor. Take Mr. Richard H. Dang Jr. as example, a name historic for generations, a schoir of world-wide fame. He finds in the Constitution the duty of returning fegitive slaves, all alike, "the old and the ignorant, the young and the beautiful," to be surrendered to the master, whether he be man or brain Mr. Dana avows his full readiness to perform this legal duty. All honor at least to the shameless effrontery with which he avows his willingness. He paints the hell of slavery in words that make the blood cald, and then boasts-this Massachusetts scholar, gentleman, his friends would call him-boasts that no man car charge him with having ever said one word against the surrender of fugitive slaves! Counsel in all the Boston slave cases, he "never suffered himself to u ter one word which any poor fugitive negro, or any friend of his, could construe into an assertion that a fugitive slave should not be restored"! He unblushingly claims merit for himself and Mas-

sachusetts-(I have no doubt in the seornful South he will have "his claim allowed")-that he and Musschusetts have constantly executed laws which "offended their sense of honor, and ran counter to their moral sentiments," which he considers a "painful duty." To be sure, Mr. Dana has discovered in his wide travels and extensive voyages a "peculiar" dass of people, narrow-minded, very little read in Greek, who think, poor simpletons, that this slave-hunting is a sin. But then, Aristotle did not look at things in this light. He took broader views, and proves co ly that three virtues and one sin exactly make a saint, and Mr. Dana is too good a churchman to dispute with Aristotle. He sees no reason why, notwith this clause as to forcing our fellow-men back into bel "a conscientious man" should not swear to obey the Constitution, and actually obey it. Now Mr. Seward and Mr. Joel Parker, who both believe in the fugitive slave clause, and willingly swear to enforce it, have each given public notice they will not enforce it. M. Dana will swear, and perform too. They will swear but not perform. Their guilt is perjury, his is man stealing. On the whole, I should rather be Seward than Dana: for perjury is the more gentlemanly vice to my thinking. Perjury only filches your neighbor's rights. Man-stealing takes rights and neighbor too.

After all this, Mr. Dana objects to the Crittenden compromise. Something short of that he can allow and such like, "compromises"! It seems he objects more to the word than the thing. But the Crittenden proposal he is set against for a : eason which may strike you singular in a man willing to retain slaves-but then we are hundles of inconsistencies all of us. But this slave-hunter cannot abide Crittenden because, lis ten! because he thinks "an investment in dishonor is a bad investment! An investment in infidelity to the oe of liberty is a bad investmen slaves? Yes, it is a duty. Give some territory to alsvery, and peril the Republican party? Never, it is a "bad investment"! DeQuincy says: "If once a man indulges in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbing; from robbing he comes next to drinking, from that to ill manners and procrastination. Once enter this downward path, and you know not where you'll stop." Mr. Dana has, however, taken warning.

and stops at man-stealing.

Some of you will call this personality. I will tell you some time, when the hour serves, why I use personality. Enough now to remind you his clients are wealth, culture, power and white blood. Mine are four millions of human beings, standing dumb and suppliant on the threshold of Christianity and civilization-and hundreds of fugitives trembling at every motion of the door-latch. Whoever perils their safety, or holds back the day of their redemption by ingenion sophistry, base word or base act, shall always fad it me a critic. Let no man call me harsh-I only recel with emphasis words such men are not ashamed to speak. Southern Legrees can plead, if not excust, fe ome extenuation. But when a Massachusetts Republican, a Massachusetts lawyer, a Massachusetts schelar avows such sentiments, he puts himself below the Legrees. Blame not this plainness of speech. I have a hundred friends, as brave souls as God ever made, whose hearths are not as safe after honored men make such speeches.

Fancuil Hall, too, kneels patient for its burden, and by its President that meeting says to the South, "Only name your terms—that is all we will trouble you to Like Luther's priest, who, when Catholics tall him to pray one way and Protestants another, ender by repeating the alphabet, and begging God to frust a prayer agreeable to himself; so our Boston orange offers the South carte blanche—the whole bundle of conpromises—"will she only condescend to indicate her preference ?"

Mr. Dana is a man above the temptations of politics The President of the Fanenil Hall meeting has 10 Po litical aspirations-an independent gentleman. speeches show how wide the gangrene of the Union spreads. Mr. Dana's speech was made, he says, in the shadow of Bunker's Hill, in sight of the spot when Washington first drew his sword. The other speed was borne to the roof of Faneuil Hall by the planting of a thousand merchants. Surely, such were not in messages Cambridge and our old Hall used to the change! Can you not hear Warren and Ocis or to their recreant representatives: "Sons, scorn by slaves! Believe, for our sakes, we did not fight for such a government. Trample it under foot. cannot be poorer than we were. It cannot cost you more than our seven years of war. Do it, if only is show that we have not lived in vain."

The address of Mr. Phillips occupied about an low in its delivery, and was listened to with absorbing h terest by the immense audience - frequently issue rupted with expressions of warm approbation, and one or two instances only, of disapprohation. At its close of the services, a great concourse of people sembled in front of the Music Hall entrance, in Williams ter Street, actuated by curiosity to see the eloquite orator; but he quietly entered a carriage on Br Street, and was driven to his residence in Esset S. without any further demonstration of good or ill vil

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The Liberator.

ROSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1861.

THE PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW.

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During the present session of the Legislature, numerous petitions from various parts of the Commonwealth have been presented against slave-hunting in Massachusetts under any circumstances, and for and against the repeal of the present Personal Liberty Law. On Tuesday last, the Joint Special Committee to whom the subject had been referred, made a unanimans report, in the course of which they declare that every man on the soil of Massachusetts is prima facie free. And this presumption should not be cut down without the most plenary and convincing proof to the contrary. The protection of personal freedom is the orimary object of government, and should never be abordinated in deference to the rights of property.' They conclude by proposing the following explanatory

An Act concerning Habeas Corpus and Personal Liberty. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Represen-tatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

authority of the same, as follows:—
Sec. 1. The writ of habeas corpus shall in all cases, except those mentioned in the thirtieth and thirty-second sections of the one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General Statutes, be returnable before the Supreme Judicial Court, or some justice thereof, or vacation.

Sec. 2. When any trial shall be had upon a writ of habeas corpus, under the nineteenth section of the one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General Statutes, issues shall be framed under the direction of the court, and the rules of evidence, procedure and decision, shall be those of the common law.

Sec. 3. Nothing contained in the statutes of the Commonwalth shall be construed to authorize the taking of any person by writ of habeas corpus out of the custody of the United States Marshal, or his deputy, holding him by legal and sufficient process, issued by any court or Magistrate of competent jurisdiction:

aty, holding him by legal and sufficient process, issued by any court or Magistrate of competent jurisdiction: proceded, howeveer, that this shall not affect the authority of the Supreme Judicial Court, or its justices, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and of this Commonwealth, to investigate and determine upon the validity and legal effect of any process which may be relied on to defeat the writ, or any other matter properly arising.

Sec. 4. Nothing contained in the sixty-second section of the one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General Statutes shall be construed to authorize the punishment of any person, who, without any false pretence or unlawful intent, claims another person as a fugitive from service or labor.

Sec. 5. Nothing contained in the one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General State can be found to the force of the General State of the General State one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General State one hundred and

see 5. Nothing contained in the one hundred and forty-fourth chapter of the General Statutes shall be construed to prohibit or limit the right of any officer, court or magistrate to call out the militia for the prevention or suppression of any not, tunnit or mob, as provided in the thirteenth and one hundred and sixty-fourth chapters of the General Statutes; or to excuse the officers or members of the volunteer militia from cleying any such lawful order, or to render them liable to any penalty for executing the same: provided, liable to any penalty for executing the same: provided, that the militia shall never be used to hinder the service of any lawful process of this Commonwealth. Sec. 6. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

As this enactment will do nothing to "cor the Southern traitors, and as no Court in Massachusetts has yet decided any part of the existing Personal Liberty Law to be unconstitutional, we trust the Legislature will let the Law remain precisely as it stands, unless to put an end to all slave-hunting.

THE PIONIER

In the last number of the Boston Pionier, its Editor, KARL HEINZEN, announces that in consequence of the present disturbed state of the South and the dangers which his readers in that part of the country are exposed, he is reluctantly obliged to strike off all his thern subscribers from his list, till better times shall give freedom of the press to the South as well as to the North. This curtailment, of course, is not attended with pecuniary loss, and in order to meet t, Mr. Heinzen appeals to his friends in the Free States to come to his assistance in swelling his subscription-list. If the appeal proves unavailing, the paper will have to be reduced in size, its attractive features diminished, or some such retrenchment exercised, in order to reduce expenses.

In this strait, for the prevention of such a contingency, we are happy to be able to recommend the Pi-German tongue. Besides its typographical comcliness to for one instant! and accuracy, they will find in the Pionier all that conutes a free and independent journal-great liberality of thought, fairness towards opponents, a manly and fearless utterance on all subjects that are of interjudge from them of the tone of the paper and its clearsighted Editor. The Pioneer contains, besides, interesting correspondence from Europe, a weekly feuilleton, the leading news, &c., &c.

The Pioneer is a quarto sheet, published weekly at \$4,00 a year. The office of the Editor is at No. 1, Oak Street, Boston, and his address is Box 196, Bos-

LINCOLN AND HAMLIN.

During the past week, President Lincoln has been journeying from his home at Springfield, Illinois, on is way to Washington for inauguration. He has been every where received with the most enthusiastic popular demonstrations-at Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleve land, Indianapolis, Troy, Albany, New York city, &c. He expects to arrive in Washington on Saturday. He has made several speeches (in response to various addresses) marked by brevity, good temper, a hopeful spirit, a wise circumspection, firmness of purpose, and an erect vertebræ.

Mr. Hamlin, Vice President, on his arrival at Worcester, on his way to Washington, was greeted by some fifteen hundred people, whose demonstrations of respect and esteem were so hearty and long-continued that he was forced to make his appearance on the platform of the car, and speak a few words. He said :

Men of Massachusetts: Your generous tones speak my for the heart of this ancient Commonwealth. You, men, who are guthered here, are the best representatives of the blessings of an intelligent, productive free labor, and the sentiments of your hearts are worthy of the ancient time of the Old Bay State. I know you are sometimes charged with being too fanatic, and I fear your complaint is chronic. (Cheers and laughter.) It came from old 76, and I have no apology to offer for you. (Good.') I sympathize with it too deeply. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Friends, maintain, like men, the principles of the Old Bay State, and all will be well. Maintain the dignity of free labor. ('We will,') are principles of the Old Bay State, and all will be well. Maintain the dignity of free labor, ('We will.') and all will be well. Liberty was rocked in the cradle a Massachusetts (cheers); and, my friends, stand by a in its old age, and see that it receives no blow, and

The speech was brought to a close by the starting of the train, amidst enthusiastic cheering.

This shows a strong backbone on the part of the Vice President, which we hope will not be in the least weakened on his arrival at Washington.

Therer was there a speech delivered or re-

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

Probably, never before has private epistolary correspondence been so largely occupied with the condition of the nation as at the present time—the views pre-sented being as diverse as the writers are numerous. Having accidentally seen two or three letters written make the following extracts for publication. The first is from a lady in Boston to a distant friend, with reference to the meeting in Music Hall, last Sunday :-

itself is with that justice which is the very foundation was read, as follows: of the Throne of God, and no soul that is alive to the To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives lifferent to it, whether in the body or absent. Yes, I the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

We, the undersigned, do respectfully memorialize you honorable body to the following effect:

That as citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusett who have heretofore felt perfectly secure in the enjoyme of the safeliled on the floor, the platform, and in the two titers of galleries. And as the TRUTH, 'very salt, and very bitter, and very good,' came forth from his brave lips, in 'winged words,' to enter thousands of hearts for power, persuasion, and motive, the occasion became one of those solemn and sublime ones that reveal to us the grandeur and the immersion of the sale of the sale of the majority, would, in view of your determ which have in view an alteration of the national constitution, pray your honorable body to keep in view the following the commonwealth of Massachusetts:

We, the undersigned, do respectfully memorialize you honorable body to the following the honorable body to the following of the majority, would, in view of your determ which have in view an alteration of the national constitution, pray your honorable body to keep in view the following at the commonwealth of Massachusetts:

We, the undersigned, do respectfully memorialize you honorable body to the following effect:

That Scitizen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts who have heretofore felt perfectly secure in the enjoyme of the rights perfectly secure in the enjoyme of the majority when they are threatened by the sale of the majority, would, in view of your determ which have in view an alteration of the national constitution. one of those solemn and sublime ones that reveal to us the grandeur and the immensity of the human soul. is the grandeur and the immensity of the human soul. It is wonderful, at these meetings, how the wrath of man is made to praise God. You may know that Mr. Phillips is engaged to speak every fourth Sunday for the Society to which Theodore Parker preached in Music Hall, and this is the third time he has spoken since the mob that broke up the John Brown meeting on the 2d of December. The first time in great peril of his life, which the police interfered to protect. And so the second. To-day I did not see any policemen, but there was the mob, in the galleries and in the street, restrained, as it is believed, for this time, in view of the inquiries now before the Legislature as to the necessity of a police appointed by the State. But here these hundreds and hundreds of young men are, thoughtless, curious, and it may be spiteful; but their ears are taken captive by the matchless eloquence of Mr. Phillips, and though they come to scoff, new and better fedicae and the word of the inquiries mowed to scoff, new and better fedicae and the word of the inquiries moved to scoff, new and better fedicae and the word of the sale and the sale of the above view, diffranchises her colored citizens.

That this is coupled with certain propositions, one of which is as follows: That "the elective franchises and though of the elective franchises her colored citizens.

That this is coupled with certain propositions, one of which is as follows: That "the elective franchise and though of the State, to prosons who are in whole or in part of the African race."

That this is coupled with certain propositions, one of which is as follows: That "the elective franchise and though of the State, to prosons who are in the first time in preached in whole of the African race."

That this is coupled with certain propositions, one of which is as follows: That "the elective franchise and though of the State, to proposition which may have in view of the African race."

That this is coupled with chart the elective franchise and though of the State, to opp It is wonderful, at these meetings, how the wrath of cit ears are taken captive by the matchless eloquence of Mr. Phillips, and though they come to scoff, new and better feelings must in many instances spring up; such is the power and potency of the heavenly influences of right, justice and truth. I think no heart could be too hard and stony not to feel a bound of sympathy in that vast assembly to-day when Mr. Phillips, after telling how Mr. Dana said at Cambridge, the other night, his sympathies in case of a slave insurrection would be

"I meant to have made out more clearly what thoushis race does not suffer injury from their hands. sands of listeners, new ones, are attracted to Music Hall, now that the merchant princes and the Everetts Federal Relations, with instructions to report forthand Winthrops have decreed the crushing out of free with, for the action of the Commissioners from Masspeech in Boston; and the more they cry out, 'Phillips ought to be hung!' 'Shoot him!' the wider he is Mr. Albee, of Marlboro', from the Co ght to be hung!' 'Shoot him!' the wider he is

The stillness was very great to-day, and I do

Federal Relations, February 7th, reported a resolve, not think a word was lost through inattention, every body was so intent and eager to know what he would Resolve in relat

The next is from an estimable lady in the Em-

Whereas, In the opinion of Massachusetts, no amendment of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a friend in Boston:

"Have our national affairs really come to a crisis, or is there to be all this fuss, to end, after all, in some miscrable, mean compromise? Are not the Crittenden amendments enough to make one sick, if it were not for the hope that their very barefacedness may arouse something of a right spirit? I hope it will be bloodless. 'No Union with Slaveholders!' So let it be. Let them go in peace: it cannot last long for them. Their beloved institution will soon destroy.

Whereas, In the opinion of Massachusetts, no amendment of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the States in the Constitution of the United States, and Whereas, vising propositions contain principles in conflict with the principles which Massachusetts has firmly upbeld, and which she is determined to maintain—therefore, Resolved, That Massachusetts is unalterably opposed to the propositions known as the "Crittenden Compromise." Are not the Crittenden Compromise. The propositions known as the "Whereas, Vising and the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary to a state of the Constitution of the United States is necessary tor for them. Their beloved institution will soon destroy itself, and them too. Slavery or Christianity must give way; they cannot endure together; and I cannot believe that any part of this civilized land is to be the land of Slavery, and the further it is put off, the sorer it will be.

The thought of civil war is shocking indeed, but perpetual Slavery is even more dreadful. What is Slavery but continual war? The weak and downtrodden ever struggling even for the breath of life.

Resolved, That our commissioners at Washington are hereby instructed to use every effort to prevent the adoption of the Crittenden compromise, or any similar propositions, by the convention now in session at Washington, trodden ever struggling even for the breath of life, and that crushed out beneath the iron heel of despot-ism. O that our rulers may be wise and good—that the free men among us may be strong and determined-that not a word of such compromise and concession as slave institutions would require may be listened

I have burned with indignation at the insults offered to our Anti-Slavery friends, who have been try-ing to lecture in this State. Verily, the gag law seems be in full force. If the little band are so insignifiest to humanity, and a comprehensive and philosophical treatment of the Slavery question, such as is to be found in no other foreign paper in this country, nor described by them, why are they so afraid of them? Why not let them have quiet possession of the halls they hire and motion of Mr. Banfield, of Roxbury, was LAID on found in no other foreign paper in this country, nor indeed in any but a very small minority of the Amerindeed in any small minority of the Amerindeed in any small minority of the Amerindeed in any small minori Democrats, or any other party? They 'were born sented with some of Mr. Heinzen's editorials, and can as free as Cæsar'—why should they not share Cæsar's rights?"

The next is also from a noble woman :-

"I long to know what these six or seven months have done to you, and for you, in body and soul. I hope they have only added strength and elasticity to both, and that this will find you bright and well, peaceful and hopeful-not afraid in these times when the fruit of an awakened conscience threatens to be civil war. But that is not our responsibility: we must do what is right. If the recreant North could only feel this, that the consequences are in God's hands; if declaring that no compromise would settle the queswe might hope for a glorious result from all this

turning and overturning. 'God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,
They touch the shining hills of day;
The Evil cannot brook delay—
The Good can well afford to wait!
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;
We have the future, grand and great,
The safe appeal of Truth to Time!'"

The last is from a much respected Vermonter : like submitting to the dictation of a mob, backed by Freedom and Slavery must be fought. We may shirk the responsibility, and go into our graves cowards; of the good and true in the future, and thus the conflict will be continued, so long as the tears of the slave fall upon the chains that bind him. With some finally triumph, I can hope on, and hope ever."

Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, has been making a Presidential journey to Montgomery, for inauguration. The despatches say: "His trip from Mississippi was a continued ovation. He made twenty-five speeches on the route, and was met eighty miles off by a Committee of Congress, and two military companies, and

PROTEST OF COLORED CITIZENS.

posted with regard to the effect produced upon the colored citizens of Massachusetts, by the propose Crittenden Compromises, I submit the following sur mary from the doings of the Legislature and the Co

mee to the meeting in Music Hall, last Sunday:—

"It seems to me this struggle of slavery to maintain Martin and 125 other colored citizens of Boston, which

sympathies in case of a slave insurrection would be with his race—'Mine, I thank God,' said Mr. Phillips, we hear so much, that blood of Crispus Attacks would cry from the ground to the Legislature to see to it that

Resolve in relation to proposed amendments to the Consti-

sion of the rules. Mr. Albee said this resolve was all that the com-

given up to Barbarism. But a sore day must come to mittee should offer such others as he pleased. Accordingly, he moved to offer two resolves as follows:

the Commonwealth, was held at Joy Street Church. fringed. He would submit to no more oppression on the part of this barbaric nation. (Applause.)

never be driven from the United States by any com-Liberty Law on our statute book, and proclaiming that they will continue to demand from the Legisla

wisdom of the nineteenth century. The war between to bring to their feet the white man of the North. He thought there is danger that the convention at Washington would, in its secret sessions, adopt this combut the Spirit of Liberty will still live to fire the hearts promise, and force it upon us. He would not submit to any forced expatriation, but would stay until he was carried away, or stand and drive back the driver slave fall upon the chains that bind him. With some little charity for the faint-heartedness of the political leaders, and a strong faith that truth and justice will if we must go, we will leave our blood behind. (Apif need be. They had appealed to the humanity of plause.) There never was a darker hour for the colored people in this country than now, and they should speak earnestly to their fellow-citizens, and let them know if they are struck down, it shall be with a protest upon their lips; and if they die, it shall be like martyrs. And the God who has punished other nations for their inhumanity may enforce the penalty of national sins with annihilation.

DEAR ME. GARRISON:-That the public may

the Commonwealth of Massachus

ng facta:That Virginia, who invites Massachusetts to join her in sonvention with the above view, disfranchises her colored

Whereas, In the opinion of Massachusetts, no amend-

The resolve was read a second time, under suspen-

mittee could fully agree upon, and it was reported

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a Washington.

Washington.

Mr. Banfield, of Roxbury, gave notice that he should move to amend by the following resolution:-Resolved, That the measures proposed by one of our Representatives, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, being in our opinion calculated to remove suspleions and silay fears, however ill-founded, and to remove a particular subject of controversy, and not being justly liable to the objection of violating any political principle, meet with our approbation, and we believe will be sustained by the people of Massachusetts.

On Thursday, February 14th, a large meeting, composed of colored citizens from the various portions of Dr. J. B. Smith, of New Bedford, was called to the chair, who, in course of remark, said they had placed too much confidence in the non-slaveholding States, and placed too little reliance on themselves. They had nothing to live for if their liberties are further in-

Prayer was offered by Rev. L. A. Grimes. Resolutions were offered by George T. Downing, only the race of noble men was not so nearly extinct, tions now agitating the nation—nothing but the abolition of Slavery itself; that the colored people will pulsion; insisting on the retention of the Personal ture of Massachusetts the most absolute equality in

every respect before the laws. Rev. J. Sella Martin addressed the meeting in support of the resolutions. He denounced bitterly the "How are the friends of Freedom? Do they feel provisions of the Crittenden compromise. It is not claimed that the votes of colored men have brought the black-hearted cowardice of a Boston Mayor? I on the present difficulties, but the North wish only to hope, in the name of God and humanity, the North offer up as a sacrifice those few colored men who have will never yield to the demands of Slavery, and patch up a miserable Union by Compromise, and leave for it was not only the object of the South to injure the our children that come after us, a work that are ought negro, but also to injure the white man. They have to do; and leave to them an inheritance worthy the

you, fellow-citizens, to bear in mind the following law of the present and other States to a convention, with a view of the present national difficulties. A alleged, of settling the present national difficulties and alleged, of settling the present national difficulties. The proposed basis of settling the present national difficulties and the part of those with the settle proposed basis of settling the several clause of which, if adoption, and the part of those with the settle proposed basis of settling the several clause of which, if adoption, and the part of those with the settle proposed basis of the part of those with the settle proposed basis of the part of those with the settle proposed basis of the part of these clauses are proposed basis of the part of these clauses are proposed by the proposed basis of the part of the settle proposed basis of the part of the part

fathers. Freedom has been your legacy from birth; by some of us it has been achieved. We know what oppression is; protect us from this political oppression.

For if our hopes are blasted in the State which we have considered the asylum of the oppressed, you drive us to desperation.

Some of us have experienced the unutterable anguish of leaving our dear ones for the sake of freedom. We appeal to you to secure and protect us in the freedom which we have sought. Let us not be exited from the State of our adoption.

We have appealed with the feeling of men—through the relationship of social beings—through the patriotism of the citizen—now we appeal in the name of the Christian religion: will you protect us in the enjoyment of it in our native land? Drive us not to an inhospitable land, either soon to die of fever or deteriorate in intellect, under the influence of a superstitious religion. The injustice against which we protest is so self-evident that we have not deemed it necessary to argue. We have confined ourselves to an appeal to you as men—as fellow-countrymen and as Christians—in the name of social justice—in the name of American patriotism—in the name and by the sacred memory of the entombed fathers—in the name of the grant of the cuttom of the cuttom of the cuttom of the grant of the cuttom of the cuttom

are, but not be too hasty. Michigan to-day has resolved not to abolish her Personal Liberty Law. (Applause.) He never felt more buoyant than at this time.

They had only to sit still, and the law of progress shall give the black men. They had only to sit still, and the law of progress shall give the black man his freedom. The mobs of the cities are but the last struggles of the tyrant. He would Knightsville, not be afraid to have it known that the meeting was to be held, and if the mob had come here, it would only help to carry out the plan of redeeming the city from its present police average. (Applement 1) its present police system. (Applause.) He did not believe that the address ought to go out yet, because there is now no occasion for it. The question cannot Put

come before the people until next aut Mr. Downing was convinced that Mr. Brown had fallen into an error. He believed the question was one of the greatest importance, and had no doubt that the North would sacrifice the whole race of colored people to save the Union.

Rev. Mr. Martin spoke in favor of the appeal. He Rev. Mr. Martin spoke in favor of the appeal. He thought the people of Massachusetts need to be informed of what is in the Crittenden Compromise.

They are not aware that it so deeply affects the rights of their fellow-citizens.

Mr. John T. Hilten was convinced that cotion is

which are now being made.

Mr. Brown thought the meeting was very timely,

rinced was he that Massachusetts is advancing in

NEWBURY, Geauga Co., Ohio, Jan. 28, 1861. FRIEND GARRISON-The world moves-for which

I feel to thank God, and take fresh courage. This afternoon, with the consent of the leaders in the Orthodox Congregational Church in this place, Darius M. Allen read for the service, Wendell Phillips's Speech, in Music Hall-"THE LESSON OF THE It was listened to by a good audience, which seemed to appreciate its burning truths. When I renember that, but a few years since, my sainted father now in his eighty-sixth year-was rebuked, and looked upon as a fanatic, for pleading the cause of the oppressed in their religious (?) meetings, and being ne of the first to vote the Liberty Party ticket, the change seems great, and should encourage all, even those who have but one talent to improve it, for the speedy redemption of millions in worse than Egyptian

There has been good Anti-Slavery work done here

President delivered or reported under more embarrassing circumstances than that of Mr. C. C. Burleigh, at the Tremont Temple, dangers of the property of the property of the property of the said the time of compromise were the rioters present—more where the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the said the time of compromise was passed. As the property of the property

you, fellow-citizens, to bear in mind the following long as one slave is left in his chains, or the gallows

H. D. and G. Draper, \$50.00
M. A. & W. Dutcher, 100.00
E. D. and Anna T.

Weymouth Female
A. S. Society,
Benj. Snow, Jr., Weymouth Female M. A. & W. Dutcher, 100.00

Wm. Wells Brown thought they had been rather carly in their address: neither the Peace Convention nor Congress would ever adopt the Crittenden compromise, and should it be adopted by them, it must be submitted to the people. It is well to see where we Portland, 5.00 James Jackson,

COLLECTIONS BY C. C. BURLEIGH. 1.23 Central Village, 0.45 South Danvers, 1.34 Millbury, 1.00 Leeds, 2.76 Chester Factories, Montgomery, Westfield West 2.80 Farms, 3.29 Southampton, Ashfield, 0.42 West Whately, bary North Society, EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. COLLECTIONS FOR TRACT FUND, BY CAROLINE F.

Mr. John T. Hilton was convinced that action is needed. The North had always obeyed the Slave Power, and he could not but have fears at the efforts which are now being made.

Salem, Ms., Mrs. Lucy G. Ives, Barnstable, Ms., Mrs. Alice H. Easton Thacher, Others, Dennis, Ms., Mrs. Lane, Others, Mrs. Lane, which are now being made.

Mr. Brown thought the meeting was very timely, but did not wish the address issued at this time.

Mr. John J. Smith thought everything looked dark. They could expect nothing from the free States, and we must make an appeal in season.

Mr. Robert Morris was confident that, ere three years, colored men would be in the Legislature, so convinced was he that Massachusetts is advancing in Others.

Dennis, Ms.. Mrs. Lane, Others, Friends, Osterville, "Hyannis, "Mrs. Sylvester Baxter, Others, Centreville, Ms., Capt. Lewis Crosby, Mrs. Ferdinand G. Kelley, Mrs. Russell Marston, Others, Others, Others, Others, Others, Others, Priends, Priends, Others, Priends, 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 4.43 1.00 0.85 1.00 0.25 0.25

vinced was he that Massachuseits is advancing in aid of the colored people. He thought the colored people were the most to blame, that they do not help themselves as they ought.

The resolves and address were adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

FROM A TRUE-HEARTED ABOLITIONIST.

NEWBURY, Geauga Co., Ohio, Jan. 28, 1861.

FRIEND GARRISCO. The thought the colored warren, Ms., Miss Sally Putnam, Southbridge, Ms., Friends, Valley Falls, R. I. Mrs. E. F. Dexter, Mannville, R. I. Mrs. E. F. Dexter, East Greenwich, R. I. G. W. T. Allen, Miss Mary Casey, Others, Washington, R. I., Caleb Kilton, Mrs. Jane Kilton. Mrs. Jane Kilton, B. H. Horton, Mrs. Whitman, Others,

Total. \$52.91 COLLECTIONS BY AARON M. POWELL. Pleasant Valley, N. Y. Homowack, Ellenville, Milton, 0.52
John Young, Milton, 0.40
Edmund Willetts, Roselyn, L. I., 1.00
West Winfield, N. Y...
Messrs. Hitchings, West Winfield, N.Y., 0.75
Canastota. Canastota,
Fairfield,
Fairfield, N. Y.,
Mrs. V. Rice,
T. A. Rice,
L. L. Kelsey,
Middleville, N. Y.,
Poland, COLLECTIONS BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY. COLLECTIONS BY SUBAN B. ANTHONY.

Buffalo, N. Y., \$48.93
Lockport, " 16.77
Rochester, " 2.57
Rochester, " J. Anna Rice \$1, Job Porter 3, J. C. Long 5, Thos. Williams 5, others 95c. 14.95
Williams 5, others 95c. 14.95
Cortland, " 15.76
Oswego, " 15.76
Oswego, " 15.76
Armstrong2, Robert Sawyer 50c. others 4.90, 12.65
Albert N. Y., 18.00

Auburn, N.. Y.,

Albany,

"Gerrit Smith 10, D. Harrower 2.50, B. R. Wood 8,
Wm. A. Deitz 5, Mrs.
Badgely 1, SusanGreenwood 1, Lydia Mott 6,
S. B. Anthony 5, others 68.29,

100.79

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

The Anderson slave case in Canada has been finally decided. The decision of the Court of Queen's Bench has been sustained, and the prisoner discharged on a technicality. Great joy was manifested at Toronto, especially among the colored population.

Capt. Vaughn of the British ship Kolas, has been tarred and feathered at Savannah by a mob for allowing his negro stevedore to sit down with him at the dinner table. The British Consul at Savannah has offered a reward of \$1,000, and the Mayor of the city one of \$500, for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage. A few scenes of this kind will lend to difficulties with the British Government which somebody will be sure to be punished for.

There seems now to be no danger of a collision at Pensacola. The rebels there have all dispersed, fearing that they would be fired upon by the Macedonian and Brooklyn. Had the forts in Charleston harbor been fully reinforced in time, quite probably we might have seen the same result there.

The Worcester Spy has intelligence of the late arrival at Port an Prince of the vessel chartered by James Redpath to take colored emigrants to Hayti. The emigrants are pleased with the country.

Fort Sumter has as yet received no reinforce ments, some 20 women, wives of soldiers there, with 17 children, have arrived at New York. They report the fort to be manned by 75 soldiers and 30 laborers—a majority of them foreigners—one-half Irish and quite a number of others Germans. The South Carolina troops at the forts and batteries around it, within range, number 3,000.

A despatch from Washington amounces that the Cherokees have rebelled and seized Fort Gibson. These Indians are slaveholders, and like their white confederates, are of course staunch friends of "liberty," and particularly for the liberty of making free with Uncle Sam's property.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for March, 1861. Pune mal as ever, and full of diversified and interesting matter, this monthly makes its appearance, with the following table of contents:-1. German Universities; lowing table of contents:—1. German Universities; 2. The Professor's Story; 3. Gymnastics; 4. Land-locked; 5. Two or Three Troubles; 6. Harbors of the Great Lakes; 7. The Man who never was Young; 8. The Men of Schwyz; 9. A Nook of the North; 10. Behind the Mask; 11. Diamonds and Pearls; 12. Reviews and Literary Notices; Recent American Publications.

THE Bosron Mon. Mayor Wightman will find fresh matter for his perusal and edification on our first page. We solicit of our readers special attention to the timely discourse of Rev. Mr. Hall, of Dorchester, on this subject, on our last page. Get the entire discourse, in pamphlet form.

EF E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in Music Hall, Sunday morning, Feb. 24. ANDREW T. FOSS, Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak at Milford, N. H.,

Sunday, Feb. 24.

Sunday, March 3.

F MISS SALLIE HOLLEY will lecture on slavery Milford, Mass., on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 24. NOTICE.—The Ladies of the Twelfth Baptist Seciety, (Rev. L. A. Grimes, pastor,) will hold a Fair, Feb. 25th, 26th and 27th, in the Hall on Court Street Block, op-

posite the Revere liouse.

Open from 10, A. M., to 10, P. M. They will have for sale, a variety of Children's Clothing, and also useful and fancy articles. There will be Refreshments for sale in an adjoining room. They hope for the sympathy and patronage of their nuerous friends, and the public of Boston and vicinity.

Admittance, 25 cents; season tickets, 50 cents.

Portland, Me.

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References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D.,

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Boston, Jan. 18, 1861.
3m. The British Reviews, AND

Blackwood's Magazine. 1.
THE LONDON QUARTERLY, (Conservative.) THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, (Whig.)

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, (Free Church.)

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, (Liberal.)

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6m 54 Gold Street, New York. Dec. 28. SELF-CONTRADICTIONS OF THE BIBLE

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A FEW Photographs of WENDELL PHILLIPS, by Horror, are on sale at the Anti-Slavery Rooms for \$1.00 each. They are much admired. TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 77 Myrtle street, for the accommodation of transient Boarders. The location is a pleasant one, within a few minutes' walk of the most central portions of the city. Every exertion will be made for the comfort of those whe may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without boart. Ferms moderate.

Jan. 11.

5. NEWELL.

Poetry.

For the Liberator. SIGNS OF THE TIMES. A PARODY ..

AIR-" The morning light is breaking."

The signs, there's no mistaking, Betoken judgments near, The captive's chains are breaking, Each hour the skies grow darker-More bright the lightnings flash,-Soon men in men who barter Shall cease to wield the lash.

Each breeze that sweeps the Union Brings tidings from the South, That she has no communion With Freedom's open mouth ; She threatens she will leave us, Unless we will be dumb .-But let this never grieve us, Nor cause us to succum

Let us in Freedom's armor, Undaunted, meet the foe .-Mechanic-tradesman-farmer, -All who can strike a blow; For weapons, Truth's smooth pebbles, With justice for our sling ; Ere long from all our troubles A sweet release we'll bring.

The slave, from bondage leaping, No more shall wear the chain,-Our land rich bleesings reaping, Freed from her darkest stain ; Millions of voices sounding, Shall then proclaim, "We're free !" Through fall the earth resounding-"Tis Freedom's jubilee." Boston, Feb. 13, 1861.

A HYMN.

Suggested by the Rev. Dr. Van Dyke's Sermon on Slavery, and dedicated to the use of Democratic Churches. Oh, Lord ! as Abraham did of old-In Genesis we read the story-Thy creatures we have bought and sold, And scourged them on their way to glory ! Chained in our public marts they lie. With brutes we put them on a level; We recognize no marriage tie-But they are black-and so's the devil!

"Tis said their lot in life is hard, Thus sowing what another reaps :-Lord! thou wilt not their case regard ;

Thou gav'st them hands to do our work-Twere better mouths had not been given : If souls within their bodies lurk, We'll fit those sable souls for heaven!

They're driven through our streets in pairs, With gyves upon each sable wrist Lord! what a Christian look is theirs! Why will men on their rights insist?

Oh. Lord ! wilt thou, with chastening rod, Smite all who would our system jostle ! The "Fugitive" from bondage fleeing,

The slave-whip is their word of God,

Perchance, of freedom having learned, Must be returned to thraldom, seeing ONESIMUS was thus returned ! Ah me ! Sr. Part is such a blessing

To those who bind their fellow-men ! A fellow-creature's worth possessing-Where we have one, Lord ! give us ten !

Lord ! if we mourn, 'tis that so few Enjoy this glorious means of grace; But yet, 'tis all that we can do To hold this black and sinful race.

Grant us, in that bright world above, A slave on every saint to wait; Surround us with Thy partial love, And save from Abolition hate.

May all be plunged in hell's abyss, Who prate about the rights of man; Around them fiery serpents hiss, And devils howl, as devils can !

Give us but time, and all manking We'll Christis te with whip as So may the glory all be Thine,

And evermore Thy kingdom reign !

MR. PUNCH ON SECESSION.

Secede, ye Southern States, secede. No better plan could be, If you of niggers would be freed, Runaway slaves by federal law At present you reclaim; So from the Union straight withdraw, And play the free-soil game.

What, when you've once the knot untied, Will bind the Northern men And who'll resign to your cowhide The fugitive again? Absquatulate, then, slick as grease, And break up Unity, Or take your President in peace, And eat your humble pie.

But if your stomachs proud disdain

That salutary meal, And you, in passion worse than vain. Must rend the Commonweal. Then all mankind will jest and scoff At people in the case Of him that hastily cut off

His nose to spite his face. -London Punch Jan. 1861.

COMPROMISE.

Ave! fail ere Freedom's work is done Falter before the Southron's rod, Betray the victory we've won,

And compromise the truth of God! Drag Freedom's banner in the dust, To endless scorn consign her name : For transient peace and hollow trust, Barter the Future's hope and fame !

The law that sways the Universe, The lesson that in history lies-Woe follows wrong-sin works its course

Delay no longer in the plot. The scroll of Time is slowly penned. The hosts of coward names must blot Its record, ere the chapter end.

Ho! Freemen of New England's hills, Ho! Freemen of the prairie West, Ho! Freemen where the golden rills Leap from the Rocky Mountain's crest, Traitors and cravens league to sign

Your sanction to the lie of lies

That Slavery's title is divine, Freedom's is bought by compromis Mount Vernon's vault keeps Washington Italia holds his only peer;

Seward's prophetic glow is gone,

And Cerwin's mirth is palled with fear; The Cameron's ancient fire is dead, ms is proved a recreant s And Crittenden has tears to shed For perjured States-for Freedom, none!

-N. Y. Tribune.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, At the Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, at the Tremont Temple, Thursday Afternoon, Jan. 24, 1861.

Phonographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTON sion and compromise, on terms involving a surrender right-to protect him. of moral and religious principle, are necessary to the the heavens when justice is done, because we know that all your compromises and concessions which sur-render the principles of right, are but so many more pits dug and mined under the foundations of our security. If there is to be safety, if there is to be prosperity, if there is to be well-being to the Commonwealth and to the world, it is to be found in obedience to the law of right, in strict adherence to the requirements of duty; and I have been almost amazed-and had it not been that I have seen the effect of mere politics, and especially politics in a country ruled by the Slave Power, upon the moral condition and even the intellectual condition of men, I should be more than almost, altogether amazed-when I have seen men, considered as high in intelligence, men standing in exalted social positions, men occupying political stations of forget this vital truth, that there is no peace, no prosperity, no enduring security for the Commonwealth in chusetts, and other of the Northern States of this Conthey are exposed by reason of the eagerness of the been enacted simply at the behest of right. They claim nothing from the North but what belongs to the North; they propose to do nothing for the inhabitants | blight and blast the fair territories of the Northwest, demand at the hands of their Government, and, there- tage which they are expecting at our hands-a heritage fore, to surrender them would be to sacrifice RIGHT to of a land uncursed with slavery, where the poor ma mere expediency. Yet there are men,-men who have may "eat his bread in the sweat of his face," without, occupied high political stations—who tell you that it is at the same time, eating the bread of social degradathe part of policy, the act of wisdom, to sacrifice these tion, and without being shut out from the pale of what bills; and in order that they may make some impres- is called "good society," because he is not able, or, if sion upon your minds, they draw comparisons between he is able, is not willing, to be a pauper, dependent the legislation of Massachusetts, for example, and the upon other men's toil for his subsistence. We have legislation of Carolina. You read in your newspapers, no right, therefore, to make any such compromise. not long ago, the letter of one of your distinguished Yet men talk about this matter-your politicians and citizens recommending the repeal of the Personal Lib. statesmen, as they call themselves, or as they are erty Bill of Massachusetts, and backing up that recom- called-talk about this matter just as if it involved no now alluded. Speaking of that statute of South Caro- very this unmeasured expanse of territory were quite lina by which the free citizens of Massachusetts are as good as a man's right to alienate half his farm to on Jails, retained there during the stay of the vessels which brought them to the port had the same right to doom our fellow-men to bondage, unless the expenses of the injustice that has been done have to consign to the labors of the field the domestic them are paid out of their own pockets, consigning them to sale, upon the auction-block, into slavery, in defiance of the Constitution, and right, and decency, and Republicanism; -and the Hon. George Ashmun Massachusetts for the protection of the personal liberty that highest of all laws, the law of the living God 3of the citizens of this Commonwealth! What we have to say in answer to such a suggestion as this is that the man who is so morally blind that he cannot eo see any difference between the statute of Carolina, guaranteeing to men the protection of the Commonwealth for their liberty-the man who cannot see any ditch with him, in the first step of their onward pro-

land? She dreads New England talk far more than she dreads unconstitutional enactments, whether of State thing more than is right, and are willing to enter in so that we cannot come at it, every where that we can of all entertaining of propositions to compromise from come at it, it is not only our right, but it is our duty to that quarter.

ing the most high-handed of wrongs.

done; and just that, we say, the Legislature of the li the price. It will not buy peace to the country, Union has a right to do within all the territory of that

permanence to the Union, the tranquillizing of affairs,
union, for which the Constitution authorizes the Con-

has no right to tolerate slavery in Massachusetts; that know you do not mean to go on conceding forever,it is not a matter at the discretion of the Legislature; to erawl in the dust, and put your necks under the MR. CHAIRMAN, -1 am glad that in this series of pursue; and even if the Constitution of Massachusetts resolutions that are before us, [see Liberator, Feb. 1st,] had been silent on the subject, and even if the Supreme if you begin by yielding. If you do so, then you the key-note has been struck as it has been by the Court of Massachusetts had not anticipated all legisla- thereby invite fresh demands. Of course, you will quotation of those memorable words of Daniel Web- tive action by deciding that slavery is contrary to the ster,-words, the utterance of which may well be heard common law, and cannot exist at all but by positive as against even the later utterances of his lips. I am institution-even if these obstacles were not in the glad that we begin by reminding the people of this country, that the anti-slavery movement has for its motive power the religious sentiment: that it is not a mere to prevent the introduction of slavery here. Then, as debate about policy, not a mere agitation of the quest the only Legislature that has authority to make regutions of expediency and inexpediency, but that it goes lations for the Territories of the United States in the down to the very depths of the moral and religious Congress of the United States, we hold that in relation nature of man. We come to the people with the ques- to those Territories, it sustains precisely the same retion, Is IT RIGHT ?-not, Is it politic !-not, Is it ex- lation to slavery which the Legislature of Massachupedient? Whatever claims our investigation by rea- setts sustains to it within the boundaries of Massachuson of its bearings upon this cause in which we are setts. It is, then, a matter of duty. Every man has engaged, we submit to this test. When men ask of us a right to be protected, under the Legislature which conciliation, and compromise, and concession, when governs the land he lives in, from all manner of wrong. men ask of us to lean this way or to lean that, in order If a man goes into the Territories of this Union, which that we may thread the mazes of our own path more are under the government of Congress, he has a right easily, our answer is-Do you propose a right meas- to be protected by the Congress of the United States Do you propose a compromise that involves no against any wrong which is attempted to be inflicted surrender of principle? Do you ask of us concessions upon him, no matter in the name of what authority. of that which does not right a wrong, which does not So, if a slaveholder attempts to treat a human being clash with the religious nature of man? And if any as a slave, in any of these Territories, it is not a matman says no to that, we tell him that we have no ears ter, properly speaking, at the discretion of Congress, to listen to the allurements of compromise, to the re- whether it shall protect him or not. It is bound, by quirements of concession. We tell him, if our conces. that law which is paramount to all law-by the eternal

We are asked, therefore, when we are asked to rur preservation of the Union, then let the Union go! a compromise line between slavery and freedom to the (Loud applause and bisses.) If these are necessary for the preservation of the peace of the country, then try to slavery, and thereby to abdicate the throne, so we are not the appointed conservators of the peace of to speak, of that country, in the name of freedom. the country. We stand on a platform at least as high We are asked in that case to bind ourselves, not mereas that old heathen philosophy which said, "Let jus- ly that we will not exercise our rights, but that we will tice be done, though the heavens fall." (Cheers and not do our duties. We are asked to promise that we hisses.) Not that we have any fear of the falling of will permit wrong and outrage, robbery of the hire of the laborer, robbery of the culture of the intellect, that justice is the very pillar that supports them, and robbery of the sanctity of the home and the domestic relations-that we will permit these wrongs to be perpetrated, unchecked, unforbidden, all over the broad region which now belongs, or may come hereafter to belong, to this Confederacy; and thus we are invoked at once to consent to a positive wrong to-day, and to hold out a premium for yet more extended wrong hereafter: to offer to the slaveholder and to those who. in the service of slavery, are willing to engage in expeditions of piracy and land-robbery, a premium to go into the neighboring provinces of weaker nations, and appropriate province after province of territory to this Union, in order to carse it with the institution which has blighted and cursed our own land so long.

If we were disposed to confine ourselves to the sim ple question of expediency, we might quote the laneminence, influence and power, absolutely seeming to guage of Virginians in regard to the effect of slavery upon their own State, as an all-sufficient reason why slavery should not be permitted to spread into any any measures that set right aside. Here we have been other part of the country under the authority of Contold that, for example, the Commonwealth of Massa- gress; for Virginians themselves have told us that alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery is federacy, ought to abolish or repeal certain statutes due the fact that Virginia now presents to the eye of the which they have enacted, known familiarly as Person- traveller the spectacle of a country desolate and seared al Liberty Bills—enactments passed to secure the libas by the avenging hand of Heaven, where once was erty of Northern citizens against the dangers to which cultivation and a thriving population, where once was the hum of life and busy industry; and they conclude servants of the Slave Power to do true allegiance to the catalogue of the evils which slavery has brought the despot whom they serve. Now, we answer, in re- upon the land, by telling us that it has been a blight gard to these Personal Liberty Bills, that they have and a mildew to every country which its touch has once cursed.

Now, we say that it is not merely inexpedient thus t of the Northern States but what they have a right to but that we have no right to rob posterity of the herimendation with just the comparison to which I have moral principle; just as if our right to give up to slahis neighbor who wants half his land; just as if w in the prosecution of their lawful business, and then, and hold them as the instruments of servile toil, as we animals which we rear for that purpose!

We insist upon it, therefore, that the question shall be continually called back to these principles of justice; we insist that men shall first answer the questells you that here is a parallel to your legislation in tions we propound—Is it right?—Is it in harmony with and unless they can answer these questions in the affirmative, we stand opposed to all compromise, to all

But if I chose to add other considerations of e defying the Constitution to consign men to slavery, and pediency to these of right and justice and duty, I the statute of Massachusetts, under the Constitution, might answer to those who demand concessions to the South from the North, that the very arguments which they use in favor of their demand are, to my mind, the difference between these two is too blind to be a guide most convincing and unanswerable arguments against to anybody who is not so blind as to be unable to dis- concession. For, look you! we are told that if we do cern the character of his guide, and so tumble into the not yield this, that and the other, concede this and that, to slavery, then the slaveholders will secode, and gress. (Applause.) No,-no,-we do not mean to make a new Union. In other words, if they cannot accept the advice of men who cannot discern the dif- rule, they will rend asunder; if they cannot have abference between protecting liberty and consigning free solute dominion, then they will leave nothing, so far men to slavery; who cannot discern the moral differ. as they can effect it, for our dominion to be exerted ence between standing up for the right, and perpetratover. Now, we want you to tell us,-each man for himself,-is that the manifestation of a temper of mind Then, again, as another method of allaying the ex- which shows its possessor fit to have power trusted to citement of the country, preserving the peace of the Union, and alluring back the seceders to the Confederacy, we are recommended to consent to a certain so regardless of all considerations of reason and right, compromise line, as it is called—the running of a line is that an argument why we should make him more between slavery and freedom from the banks of the Mis. powerful, why we should confer upon him the ability sissippi away to the shores of the Pacific, and saying to to manifest his arrogance yet more injuriously, as well the slaveholder, "All south of that line is yours; we as insolently? The more men exhibit insolence, the guarantee it to you forever; your title thereto shall more they manifest a disposition not to be governed never be disputed." Our answer to such a proposition by right, but by will, by selfishness, by regard to mere as this, is just like the other, -that it involves a sur- sectional interests, -no, to the interests of a clique, render of RIGHT. Slavery has no right anywhere, to class, a petty oligarchy, a mere scanty minority of a begin with. That is the position we started with, as a single section, -just the more, we say, do they show Society, when this Society was first organized. We themselves not fit to be trusted with more power; an began with the proposition, that slavery has no right therefore any power which we can lawfully withhold anywhere; but in certain parts of the country, it has from them, we intend to withhold. I should feel just what it calls legal guarantees, legal recognition and as much morally responsible for putting deadly weap protection, and there we cannot reach it by legislative ons into the hands of maniacs, as for putting any such enactments,—can reach it only by the power of talk; power into the hands of men who show that they are and we have all learned that it has a power, much not governed by reason, and determined not to obey as men may affect to despise it. For what else the requirements of duty. If the appeal to me fo has created the alarm and excitement of the slave concession should come in this wise; if men had said-"These slaveholders will not insist on having any or National Legislatures. She is afraid, not of what a deliberate and careful investigation of this question Abraham Lincoln may do-for she knows that if he with you, and in a perfectly peaceable way canvass th had the will to hurt her, he has not the power, whole subject; therefore I think you may reasonably with Congress and the Supreme Court against him; trust them; they are reasonable men, who mean to do but she says she takes the election of Abraham Lin-right,"—then I might have listened to their proposicoln as an indication of the state of public opinion at the North, and that public opinion is what she is afraid of. Afraid of it, not in its silence, but in its outspeak- we are successful at the polls, you must submit, but if ing. She is afraid, in short, of New England talk. you are victorious, we will not submit," I consider But, as I was saying, we insist upon it, that though slavery is entrenched behind legislative barriers, or constitutional barriers, in certain States of the Union, settles the question in my mind, and there is an end

gress to make all needful rules and regulations.

Now, we say that the Legislature of Massachusetts

concession will be an invitation to fresh demands. I that the great, eternal principles of justice have al- very feet of the Southern oligarchy, in order that you ready prescribed to that body the course which it must may continue the Union in existence,-to yield every thing which the Slave Power will inevitably dema only make yourselves weaker to resist when that time comes when you will resist at last-for you must come to the point of resistance finally; and it is better. since that must be, that you should begin now, for it is better to brace your feet while you stand on the summit of a hill than to wait till you are half way down, and then, on the slippery declivity, try to prevent yourself from being dragged to the botte

There is neither policy nor right to justify the urse that is reco mended to you. I would say-Repeal no Personal Liberty Bills-run no compromise lines across the country. I would say-Enact statute, the aim of which is to buy concession. This is the ground which the North ought to occupy. She ought to turn upon the slaveholder and say, "We have done nothing wrong; we have done nothin we did not mean to do; we have done nothing but what we have done deliberately; we have done nothing but what has been the full purpose of our hearts to do; and now, if you will secede because we have done our simple duty: if you will secede because we have simply asserted our own rights, then you must for we will never buy you back; we will never give you bribes to accept the favors and the advantages which the Union confers upon you; we will ever treat you, as the weak, indulgent mother treats the spoiled child, hiring him to be good. It you de sire to reject the advantages of the Union, if you desire to cut yourself off from that which has been the source of whatsoever prosperity you have derived from the Union, then do it on your own responsibility, and take to yourselves the natural consequences

There are those who imagine, or who affect to igine, that secession will be ruinous to the interests of the North. Our answer is, when God required us to do right, he knew that right is the way of policy as well as of duty, and He will see to it that those who do right will not suffer evil consequences from right doing. But then, it is not merely the trust which the religious nature gives us in the omnipotent protection of God, but it is the manifest revelation of the putting forth of that omnipotence on behalf of the doer of right which we have all seen in the providential dealings of God with nations. Here is our North. Why need it be afraid of any consequences of the withdrawal of the South from it? Here we have our more than eighteen millions of people; here we have all those characteristics of mind and heart, all those intellectual qualities, all that energy of character, all that force of will, all that shrewdness and practical non sense, all that executive talent and business nergy, which have made the North what she is, in spite of the incubus of Southern slavery hanging upon her energies; and why need we sit down and fold our hands in despair, because South Carolina wakes up some morning, and says we shall no longer pay her postage bills ?-because Georgia says we shall no longer hear, from the Senate, those "doleful sounds from the Toombs" that have been ringing in our cars so long? Why should we be troubled, because the paupers have attempted to set up for themselves? I tell ou, the energy of the North, and this immensity of intellectual and physical power, will make themselves felt to-day and to-morrow, and all days in the future. Whether Carolina seeks to share in the advantages of that exhibition of those qualities or not, it will make no essential difference to the strength and prosperity

Why, Mr. Chairman, this is not the first time we nave heard of a dissolution of the Union in this country. The Union was dissolved in 1776, when this side of the dissolved Union had only about three millions of people; and yet the country contrived to live and to grow; and what is it now, compared with that time! We have more than six times the population which the whole country had then; we have increased, in still larger proportion, in material strength and wealth; we have our steam power and our telegraphs, it, which makes this mob so alarmingly significant. our railroads and our manufacturing capital and instruments; we have our utilized water-power all over the land, our ships upon all the seas. gard to all the elements of material prosperity, imschool the ruin of the North because the North will not consent to be dragged to ruin in common with the South : because she says to the South-" If rights of your fellow-men, 'treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath,' and calling down upon you the righteons judgments of God, the anticipation which made Jefferson say, in his time, 'I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that His instice will not sleep for ever ':--if you will continue in that downhill road to perdition, then we will stand firm here; and if you strain so hard upon the cord that binds us as to snap it, upon your

own heads be the consequences of the plunge ! Moreover, we believe that not only can the North stand under all the consequences of disunion, but that o the very interest which the slaveholder is endeavoring to strengthen by disunion, that step will be utterly fatal. We believe that slavery cannot survive a dissolution of this Union. We believe, as Arnold, of Tennessee, in former times, and as Johnson, of Tenessee, in our day, and as other distinguished men of the South have said, again and again, that the dissolation of the Union is the abolition of American slavery, and the instant this Union is dissolved, and the slave States withdraw from the Confederacy, that instant the Canada line comes down to the Virginia border. That instant, slave property becomes next to valueless all along the frontier, and the belt across the country in which slave labor is valueless, in consequence of the facilities for the escape of slaves, will be idening and widening, until the frontier States will be enveloped by it, and the belt will become a cloak. which will fairly invest the slave land, and a garment for slavery, which, like the shirt of Nessus, the old hero of mythology, shall be death to him that wears it. We believe it will not be long before slavery is done away with in the border States, as a consequence of ion : and when slavery is abolished, their interests will draw them Northward, and there will be another secession. Those States will imitate the example which South Carolina has set, of seceding from Union, which South Carolina has established. And the same process will go on through the entire range force, if no other, would crowd slavery out, until it stood, with tottering step, upon the borders of the Mexican Gulf, and then, toppling over, sunk beneath

produce this result. It will be aided by another. The gation, on the part of the North, to put down slave insurrections, and is therefore a lifting of the pressure which has borne down the elastic energies of the slave for so long. We do not say that the consequence will strong enough to break the strength of the oppressor and his allies, even after the dissolution of the Union. But this we say, that the slaves will be strong enough

will far rather surrender slavery, and come one into the Union, than to continue to live such a life. I resecret edicts and its ruffian bands and its social and the social member-and I suppose history is written for our instruction—that when Nat Turner raised an insurrection against the Slave Power of Virginia, though it was confined to a small corner of that Commonwealth, though it was suppressed by the strength of the United States, though Virginia had the whole North to back her at that time,-yet that insurrection of Nat Turner almost frightened Virginia into emancipation. At the very next session of the Virginia Legislature, an act of sipation was introduced and pressed to a vote, and was lost by only a very meagre majority against it. I say, if that insurrection of Nat Turner, so limited, under such unfavorable circumstances, with the whole U nion banded together to suppress it, could nevertheless almost bring Virginia into emancipation, is it not reasonable to believe that when the strength of the North shall be altogether withdrawn, and insurrections are starting up here and there and yonder and every where, they will bring the slave States into emancipation, especially when the motive to hold on to slavery is con ally weakening, by continual escapes, by taxation, and by the reduction in the value of property in slaves ?

These are some of the considerations that lead me to believe that the emancipation of the slaves will be one of the inevitable consequences of a dissolution of the Union-that we have only to "stand still, and see the salvation of God"; that we have only to look on calmly and quietly, in the exercise of a "masterly inactivity," in order to see the power that has so long overshadowed the land dwindling and shrivelling up, and finally sinking away to nothing. (Loud applause.)

THE RECENT MOB IN BOSTON.

Extracts from a Sermon, entitled "Truth not to be Overthrown nor Silenced," preached at Dorchester, Sunday, Jan. 27, 1861, by Rev. NATHANIEL HALL, printed by John Wilson and Son, 22 School Street Boston, and published by request :-

As, three days ago, I sat on the platform of the Tre mont Temple, and took in the scene there before me and saw in it more than the eye perceived. I felt ther and there that text and subject were given by Providence, which I might for no reason refuse. Do any deem it a theme unbefitting the pulpit? Let me say I know of none more fitting, connected as it is with the very existence of the pulpit, or of the freedom which alone makes its existence worth any thing. There is not a pulpit in Massachusetts, in New England, upon which a threatening shadow has not fallen from that scene of outrage. Such shadow has fallen thence upon you and me, and each one of us. There is not a civil privilege, nor a social nor domestic blessing, nor a material possession, which is not less secure reason of that permittedly successful outrage Look well. I do not say to your pulpits, your rights your liberties only; but to your property, your dwellings, your persons: for there is no law in yonder city-and if not there, not here-that will protect them, save on certain conditions which conscience may not suffer you to fulfil. .

Among the circumstances for sadness connected with this outrage, the very least to me was the effect wrought upon the objects of it. Nay, I have no sad in that view. Their cause is unharmed by it; is greatly helped. It has gained to it an awakened at tention; it has won for it a deeper, if not wider, sym-"We can do nothing against the truth, bu for the truth." The attempt to silence men from uttering their God-given word makes their very silence more persuasive for it than a host of tongues. The tempt to quench agitation fans it as with a thousand airs No: the sadness about it is not here. It is not in view of the victims, if they can in any sense be called such, but of the authors and abettors of the outrage. And these are many. They are scattered wide in this community. You will not find them in the haunts of ruffianism, not in coarse apparel, not in low bar-rooms, only; but also amid social decorums and amenitie and refinements, in haunts of wealth, in offices of trust in houses of worship to-day. This outrage would claim no very serious regard, if its visible actors were alone concerned in it. A mob is always possible in a large city. Its elements continually latent, there is nothing strange, certainly, nor perhaps alarming, in their occasional outbreak. It is the clas alleged to have incited and encouraged and sustained

It was sad enough to see who were its active par ticipants: above all, to see, as such, youth,-youth on whose generous instincts, unchilled as yet by sor didness and self, on whose native sympathies with mensely further advanced than at the time of the the just, the manly, the noble, in character and con-American Revolution. We have, then, no reason to duct, we feel we have a right to rely in any enterprise of humanity, any struggle of weakness against strength. It was sad. Their very merriment made it more so; the very thoughtlessness, the very shalyou will go on trampling upon God's law, violating the lowness of nature, if it was not depravity, which made that merriment possible in such connection: allowing that to be a holiday pastime, which was in truth, though they had not the eye to see it, the meanest and most unmanly of deeds.

And did they know what they were doing,ever they were, that, keeping themselves in the background,-as well for shame they might,-set forward that band of youth to take those first lessons, under their patronage, in public lawlessness; and those les sons practised against, in the design of suppressing the exercise of, the dearest and most sacred of civil rights; and when, too, that right was being exercised not only lawfully, but benevolently, in behalf of the poor and helpless and oppressed? Those lessons, in the sublime secret of conducting mobs, will not be forgotten; nor will the corrupting influence cease to work of those who lent their natronage and encouragement to make of Tremont Temple, for that day, a university of rowdyism,-a battle-ground of a most ignoble contest, and a more ignoble victory. It is hard to believe that the accounted respectability of the commu nity-any portion of it-should have lent itself to such a work. It is hard to believe, letting alone the meanness and wickedness of the thing, and looking at it in the light of policy alone, how men of common intelligence and discernment should not have seen, that not only the ends proposed to be answered by it-if these ends were to silence and crush the party assailed-must fail of being so, save for the time; but that the very attempt and its temporary success would react in manifold ways, for the gain of the assailed. And need they be told that the mob-spirit cannot be laid as readlly as it may be evoked, that every triumph emboldens and augments it, and that they themselves may be the first to seek refuge from the very lawlessness they have allowed themselves to sand tion? They have succeeded in making freedom the dangerous, and oppression the safe, cause to espouse, just now, in our Puritan city, our liberty-cradling city. But the power instructed and incited to this end will not always be schooled to its masters' bounds. In the knowledge of its might, it will soon have no master save its own blind impulses and passions. Once rampant, it will hardly content itself with hunting despised philanthropists from hired halls, or any one of them, owever illustrious, from hall to home; but will, not unlikely, prefer as victims those who pass and repass solution of the Union is a withdrawal of the obli-tion, on the part of the North, to put down slave houses. And then, again, as regards opinions, do they not see, if opinions are to be suppressed, or the utterance of them, on the ground of their obnoxiousness to a certain portion of the community, that it is not be the overturn of the slave system by the energy of one class of opinions only against which the mob-power insurgent slaves. We do not say that the slaves are will be invoked, but against any and all that for any reason are offensive? They cannot inaugurate for a specific end this reign of despotism, and prevent the extension of its threatening domination to whatever to cause such a general feeling of alarm, disquietude, may be supposed to militate, though it be the very uneasiness and apprehension, that men will deem it truth of God, against class-interests or the general outbetter to forego the fancied advantages of slavehold-ing than to continue living in an armed camp, with sen-to phlpit; and, the speech of the former assailed for do so. Whatever the people of Massachusetts, by their Legislature, have a right to do within the Common-wealth of Massachusetts, that, we say, ought to be

Besides, I know very well, from the very lesson of this revolution in the Southern country, that combred in the special political or commencial bearings, which is unfavorable political or commencial bearings, and deadly weapons at their outgoings, and deadly weapons at their bearings, which is unfavorable political or commencial bearings, which is unfavorable political or commencial bearings and the commencial bearing

will far rather surrender slavery, and come back into moneyed resources, to do this !--when it has speed moneyed resources, itself a little broader and struck itself a little deeper to take the pulpit into its closer keeping, and dictar to it terms of peace ?

Well: truth, freedom, right, have always had their martyrs, -always needed them. It may be they need them now. Not the martyrs merely (for these are always) who are such by slowly wasting labors and ea durances, but those also who shall seal their testic with their blood. I believe there are multitudes res for this; that, with all the reputed and actual world; ness and materialism of the age, there would a forth thousands from the bosom of this community, lay down, if need were, their lives, for that which is dearer to them than life. Those men and was whom you hunt so, in the interest of slavery; whose lips you attempt to shut, whether by the hand fian violence or the pressure of public you think they are not ready to sacrifice for the principal ples to which conviction and feeling have been ing the closer, year after year, until they are a part of their very being; which have become dearer by the sacrifices they have already endured for them, and which you have made dearer than ever by this latest outrage: do you think they are not ready, many of them, to sacrifice whatever may be the future cost of an unswerving fidelity, though that cost were life Friends, I desire, in this connection, to speak as I

eel (all the more now, because they are und

of public odium and the heel of lawless power) of this class of persons called Abolitionists. My testingny may be worth little to you; but it will be worth acres thing to myself to have given it. It is common in almost all circles and spheres, not only in political speeches but in pulpit discourses, (I have been led to note of late how common it is,) to style them an natics," "madmen," "insane," as if to signify, by these opprobrious epithets, that they are without claim to a respectful consideration. Will it be said that or probrious epithets are not all on one side? Allowed It is poor business, whoever bandies them. It is poor business, too, to stand aloof from a righteons enterer and criticise, in a spirit of prejudice and distrust the works and words of its carnest and honest toilers, and let what is judged censurable in these shut from view the great underlying principles of the movement, and consistent and uncompromising fealty to them of its followers; allowing nothing to the fervors of a real, which, if it be fanatical, is so on the side of freedom and humanity. Let any one, of fair mind, give himself for a few months only, as they have done for year to a contemplation of slavery, in all its aspects and details, its inhumanities and wrongs, and I think their zeal would bear to him a different aspect; that he would forgive, if he did not respect it. "Fanatica! would to God all were such in an unflinching and allonsuming loyalty to the cause of freedom and hamanity, instead of being so coldly and selfishly indifferent to it, or languidly and passively in its interest, as such multitudes are who yet claim to be in sympathy with it! Knowing against whom this cry has been raised in the past, those disposed to employ it in this connection would do well to hesitate, and look a little more deeply into the matter, lest perchance they may e placing themselves in company they might not feel conored by. For myself, I cannot withhold my respect, nor the expression of it, from a movement which bases itself on an abstract moral principle, and is unalterably true to it; which recognizes, as no other does, the Scripture-spoken duty of "remembering them that are in bonds as bound with them:" which takes the ground, that slavery is intrinsically and absolutely and eternally wrong, an offence and crime against God and humanity, -as such, to be unceasingly denounced, and striven against, -as such, on the part of those upholding or in any way in complicity with it, to be at once repented of, and put away; which throws this assertion in the face of the nati challenges the world to a disproof of it; which allows no palliations of slavery, no excuses, no specious sophisms, no politic considerations, to veil its naked essential hatefulness, as seen in the light of God's truth and the divine instincts of the heart; which de clares all compromise with it sinful, and all compacts and laws upholding and favoring it, as, by that fact, null and void. I cannot withhold my respect, nor the expression of it, from those who have planted them elves on this adamantine base, and, amidst obloquy and reproach and denunciation and threat, amidst all the variations and whifflings of popular sentiment, and in the face of all consequences, have nobly stood there. I was speaking of the age as needing its confesse

and martyrs. And I believe they would be found, at the call of a providential necessity, not alone in those who thus give organized expression to extreme antients . but also in many more, who, repelled from their organization and from any active sympathy with them,-less by their views than by the form and tone of their advocacy of them,-are yet, essentially and at heart, with them. It cannot be that the spirit of the olden time, the spirit of New England's founders, the spirit of a whole-hearted and self-devoting care for human rights and human disinthrallment, has died away, has gone out, among us. Slavery, I know, has done its best towards killing it, and has lone, alas! much,-our constitutional complicity with that accursed barbarism, and the attempts to which self-interest prompts, and a love of peace, and a timid onservatism, to extenuate and justify and defend it. But the spirit lives,-lives and spreads. Thanks for this, more than to aught else of human instrumenta ity, to the anti-slavery enterprise, as such; to the voice, clear and stern, crying, long since and still, in the wilderness of our Judæa, "Repent!" and laying the axe at the root of the tree.

The Abolitionists are charged with bringing about the present state of things in our land. So far as this state of things is resolvable into a rising of the free spirit of the North to curb and beat back the waves of an arrogant and aggressive despotism, the charge has truth, and, so far, honors them. But, for what is evil in the condition of affairs, they are chargeable only as the truth is chargeable for the passions and violence its assaults provoke. Or, if the truth given them has been too harshly spoken or too personally applied charge the consequences upon the evil assailed and its upholders, rather than upon its fervid assailants. Oh that this people would consent to see it; that God would couch, from films of custom and self, the blindness which perceives it not,-that the fount and origin of all our ills, our disquiets and contests and perils, is slavery itself, what dark anomaly in our me public, floated down from a barbarous past, and an chored by, and joined in baleful alliance to, the ark of our freedom; refusing to unloose itself not only, but more and more increasing its overshadowing present and ingulfing weight; slavery, -setting itself against the natural conscience, the dictates of humanity, the spirit of the age. Here is the cause of trouble. The Eternal Justice has a controversy with this nation which can have no peace till that controversy is settled on the side of God. It is the "irrepressible conflict of truth and falsehood, right and wrong; irrepres because the human heart will be true to itself, and God to his own cause.

I close, then, as I began. The cause, the " work and counsel," based on the immutabilities of God's truth and being,-"ye cannot overthrow it. Hebrew Gamaliel could say it, much more the Christian of to-day, with eighteen centuries added to the heroic retrospect through which the assurance beam; with a purified and ascendant Christianity; with a fraternal Christ and a parental God,-a Christ whose commission was and is to "break every yoke"; a God who lays on each soul a like commiswho works in and by each faithful soul for the same

WEST NEWTON ENGLISH AND CLASSICAL SCHOOL THE next term will begin Wednetday, February 13, 1861. For particulars, address

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